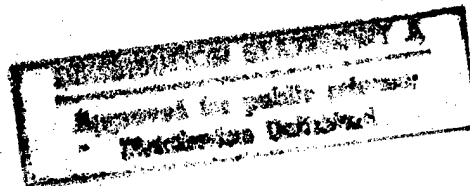


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2082

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6 December 1982

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MINISTER OF INTERIOR ON LAW ENFORCEMENT POLICIES

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 10 approved for publication 3 Sep 82, pp 11-20

[Article by Jaromir Obzina, federal minister of interior: "Class and Social Foundations of the CPCZ and Socialist State Security Policy"]

[Text] Policy under socialism encompasses not only a system of views, ideas and learning directly expressing the basic interests of the workers class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia, organizations of state power, its maintenance and overall application, but also activist creative work of all the people. Its mission is the adoption of workers class ideology throughout our social life and a transformation of society in accordance with scientific recognition of the legalities of its development. Its most important function, in harmony with the interests of the revolutionary forces of a socialist society, is dedicated implementation of the building of communism. With respect to this goal, as enunciated by Comrade Gustav Husak, it is most important to "... be able to perceive correctly and in time the fundamental problems of a given period, to formulate an action plan--a clear plan-- as the moving force for the mobilization of the masses."

Under socialism, policy is conceptually formulated, first of all, by the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state which is an organization of the people. Politically aware masses organized by the party and social organizations create the socialist state, i.e., "a people's organization in the truest sense of the word." The correctness of this concept is confirmed by the example of the 65-year existence of the first socialist state in the world, and the historical experiences of our own communist party.

The socialist state with its mechanisms is the principal decisive instrument for the implementation of communist party policy and power of the ruling workers class. In meeting its building tasks, the socialist state also ensures reliable defense and protection of the revolutionary achievements, guarantees the broad rights and liberties of citizens, as well as their responsibilities to society and protection of public order. Thus the communist party in a creative manner applies universally valid legalities of building the political system of a socialist society.

An integral part of the policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state--a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat--which subordinates itself to the strategic

and tactical facets of its development, is the security policy of the communist party and our state. In a letter to the National Security Corps [SNB] Higher School on the occasion of its first graduation ceremonies in 1978, Comrade Gustav Husak called on all SNB members "to meet all tasks stemming from the security policy of the communist party and socialist state, thus building on the glorious traditions of the corps."

### Party and State Security Policy

Security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state is the firm and permanent foundation from which stems all SNB activity, as well as that of the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior. From Marxist-Leninist positions it expresses the basic objective interests of the ruling workers class and its allies in the protection and defense of society's revolutionary forces and the results of the socialist revolution, the people's socialist achievements and the building of a socialist and communist society, against internal and external enemies, in defense and protection of the socialist societal and state system, socialist ownership, legality and citizens' rights, in defense and protection of common international interests of the world socialist system, as well as military protection of the state borders.

The substance of security policy under socialism is set forth primarily in resolutions and directives of the congresses and plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the ruling Marxist-Leninist party, in legislative acts, legal and norm-setting measures of the government and executive organs of state authority and administration and, overall, by the protection of the constitution, laws of the socialist society and the socialist legal code. In these political and legislative acts are anchored the basic interests of security policy expressed in general principles and concrete requirements which constitute the foundation of the ideological, legislative and practical approaches to the organization, training, education and all forms and methods of work in the SNB and the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior.

The overall content structure of the party's security policy ensures the growing importance of the leading role of the party in the defense of the socialist system, as well as in the education and training of members of the SNB and the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior. The security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state subordinates the work of these organs to the objective interests of the socialist society and state, guarantees full respect for socialist legislation, and gains active support of broad masses of the working people for the fulfillment of its tasks.

Constitution of the security policy of the CPCZ and socialist state in the history of our party was a complicated and demanding process. Historical facts and an abundance of documents show that ever since its birth the CPCZ has devoted its attention to the problems of security policy.

✓ In the period of the struggle against bourgeois power, the party thoughtfully responded to persecution, terror and violence of the bourgeois state power and protected its revolutionary cadres and the embattled masses. Gradually it developed a whole system of self-protection, ensuring the survival of its work. The substance and form of protection reflected the situation of the time and constituted an integral part of the party line.

In the period of the national liberation struggle, the communist party operated under difficult conditions of illegality and repressive attacks by the Nazis, as well as domestic reactionary excesses. The party was the principal organizer of resistance abroad. It created a combat organization and effective defense of its political and armed struggle in order to protect even at this very trying time its cadres and the battle strength of its armed groups to ensure that its effectiveness remain unimpaired and uninterrupted.

In the period of the transition of the national and democratic revolution to a socialist revolution during 1945-48, the party's security policy stemmed from the Kosice Government Program, documents of the Eighth CPCZ Congress, resolutions of the Central Committee, as well as programs of the National Front government.

The following were the main tasks of this policy:

1. Struggle against collaborators with the enemy and traitors, reactionary and conspiring elements acting against the national and democratic revolution, its accomplishments and continued revolutionary progress.
2. Struggle against criminal and antisocial elements breaking the law, struggle against economic law breakers, especially war profiteers, black marketeers and saboteurs of the nationalized and planned renewal and development of the national economy.
3. Struggle against foreign imperialist espionage services and their domestic agents.

In the transition period from capitalism to socialism and in the period of building the foundations of socialism during 1948-1960, the principal goal of security policy executed by the security apparatus was to wage a struggle against the exploiting classes as a whole, which means that the SNB, through its specific means, became part of the decisive social and class struggle. The security apparatus was built on strict class principles, its members came predominantly from worker and small farmer ranks dedicated to the revolution and socialism. With respect to the security of the state at the time -- as pointed out by Klement Gottwald at the Ninth CPCZ Congress -- there occurred a change in the character of the activity of the reactionary forces which required an intensive struggle against them. In the area of common criminality, the content of SNB work was the battle against criminal and antisocial elements disrupting social harmony, infringing on citizens' rights and breaking the law. The basic requirements levied on the SNB were the maintenance of revolutionary vigilance and observance of socialist legality.

In the period following the building of foundations of socialism, security policy stems from the given tasks of the further development of society, defense and protection of socialism, and from the real state of the class and social composition of contemporary society, i.e., from concrete political, economic, social and ideological factors, while respecting their international relationships. While remnants of the exploiting classes and their influences remain, in contrast to the early years of socialist construction, we emphasize primarily the struggle against organized antisocialist forces which, in contact with and support of the special services of the imperialist countries, violate our constitution and legal code through activity hostile to socialism.

For the development of CPCZ and socialist state security policy in the present period, the "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society" after the 13th CPCZ Congress, and the resolutions of the 14th CPCZ Congress are of fundamental significance. The basic source of successes in the work of the SNB and military contingents of the Ministry of Interior in the period following the 14th CPCZ Congress, lies in consistent application of Leninist principles in the build up and work of security organs. The class political foundation of the Czechoslovak socialist state as the instrument of power of the workers class and other working people has been strengthened, and the class social structure of the SNB and military contingents of the Ministry of Interior has improved. The security organs in their work apply to the maximum political, educational and preventive methods, strictly observe socialist legality, and apply their class repressive function against individuals and groups, especially against agents of hostile espionage services and their helpers from the ranks of the antisocialist forces, and against criminal elements which through their deeds violate our legal code.

The concepts of security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state in the period of building a mature developed socialist society were prepared in the discussions and conclusions of the 15th and 16th CPCZ congresses which recognized the important mission of our security organs and other armed components of the Ministry of Interior, and emphasized that "their sacred duty is and will be in the future to vigilantly and conscientiously protect our system, socialist ownership, public order, the rights and liberties of citizens, the security of our republic and inviolability of our borders."

In the process of its development, security policy is organically linked with the development of society as a whole. In the formulation of its individual objectives and tasks stemming from them, the content of security policy reflects the achievements of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, the dynamism, structure and quality of changing social relations. A characteristic feature of security policy in the CSSR is the fact that it unites the security policy of the CPCZ and that of the socialist state, both of which during the development of a socialist society have followed common objectives and proceed jointly in meeting their tasks. At the same time, the security policy of a socialist state predominantly uses instruments of a state power character and is basically implemented by organs of state power and administration with active participation of the people, since there are no political or class contradictions between the objective interests of the people and the mission and interests of the executive organs of a socialist state.

The enforcement character of security policy is in accord with the revolutionary interests of the workers class and its allies, since it is aimed against efforts and attacks which disrupt and threaten their common interests. This fact, along with other aspects of security policy, its formulation, implementation and oversight, makes it impossible for it to be misused or exploited against the interests of the ruling workers class and all our people.



The humane substance of socialism is simultaneously reflected in the effort to employ not only enforcement means but also other instruments and methods of protecting and defending our socialist society and citizens. Security policy purposefully focuses on prevention of possible attacks and threats directed against protected social interests. Next to the coercive aspects, security policy thus also emphasizes the humane side of approaches to the individual citizen of a socialist society, which is in accord with the overall need to educate and inspire the socialist citizen toward proper fulfillment of his civic responsibilities, observation of the rules of community life and public order, and the socialist society's laws for decent life and work.

The substance of security policy does not stem solely from its position and function which it performs in society. It also mirrors socialism's strength applied in the defense and protection of its fundamental interest against the aggressive actions of imperialist forces and states.

The CPCZ and socialist state security policy has a scientific character which it had acquired through objectivity, universality and a concrete historical approach to an analysis of all relationships and connections. Purposeful management of so complex and multitiered a social system as the security apparatus of a socialist state and society, is conducted on the basis of recognized objective laws and legalities of social development. Among the main principles of security policy in practice are its class substance, the leading role of the communist party, its scientific character, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, unity of the SNB and the people in protecting socialism, socialist legality, socialist humanism, and the dialectic unity of education, prevention and punishment.

The main principles of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state form an organic whole, they are mutually interrelated and complement one another. Any weakening, deformation or even abandonment of any of these, logically leads to effective disruption of the whole system.

#### Class and Social Factors of Security Policy

Policies of the Marxist-Leninist parties express the fundamental common strategic and tactical interests of the workers class in general, and in relation to state authority in particular. The security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state, as an integral and specific component of these policies, expresses the programmatic goals and tasks of protecting these interests. Protection of the interests of the ruling workers class forms the class substance of security policy. V. I. Lenin expresses this reality of the general and specific in the policy of a Marxist-Leninist party by the need for unity in building, defending and protecting socialism. Basing his conclusions on the experiences of the revolutionary struggle of the workers class on the international scale, on the experiences of the Paris Commune and three Russian revolutions, he asserted that:

1. Social revolutions do not occur and cannot be successful without counter-revolution, without resistance by the counterrevolutionary forces.
2. Any revolution, thus also the socialist, is worthwhile only if it is able to defend itself.

3. Following a victorious socialist revolution, the ruling workers class must first maintain and protect its political and state power and develop and strengthen it, if it is to safeguard a real chance to direct and manage all of society in accordance with socialist and communist goals and perspectives.

The focal point of the protection and security of the workers class lies in ensuring the best conditions for the impact of the universal legalities of a socialist society under the specific conditions of our country, for the development of sociopolitical relations, the nucleus of which is political and state power of the workers class. Protection and defense of the interests of the workers class, however, does not only have an explicit national security character, but also the protection and security of the lives, health, civil rights and liberties, honor and dignity of citizens, as well as protection and security of socialist and private ownership.

The class substance of security policy also has its expression in the class composition of the SNB and the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior which, in its responsible social activity, achieve desirable social results only on condition that in their performance and responsible positions they remain politically principled, socialistically aware citizens, fully devoted to the workers class and all our people. All SNB members and soldiers of the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior must strive to be intellectually and morally superior to their antagonists, politically and ideologically firm, really exemplary citizens of the socialist homeland and revolutionaries sparing no effort and, should the service so require, offering even their lives. Their primary task is to live up to Gottwald's dictum of firm links and unity of the SNB with the people. These are the demands placed on members of the security organs in a socialist state, stemming from the character of their work and their mission in society, of whom the communist party demands, above all, devotion to the cause of socialism. To meet these requirements, it is essential to constantly raise the share of workers class representatives in the ranks of the security apparatus, constantly study the developing ideology of the workers class, Marxism-Leninism, and truly identify with it, strengthen the class political awareness of members of the SNB and the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior, and wage an uncompromising struggle against all forms of bourgeois ideology and revisionism which openly or secretly attack the leading position of the workers class and its revolutionary party in a socialist society.

The leading role of the CPCZ permeating all spheres of organization and activity of the SNB and the military contingents of the Ministry of Interior, is the ultimate expression of the class character of the formulation and implementation of security policy in the CSSR.

The social foundations of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state are linked with the very word "security." Security is a social term which was recognized, as shown by K. Marx, even by the bourgeoisie. K. Marx even documents the fact that the ruling bourgeoisie hypertrophically raised security to the highest social term, only to degrade it at the same time by identifying it with the term "police." Security of a state (country), society and citizens under socialism is in its essence the overall protection of the untouchability of a sovereign rights of a state as the principal instrument for socialist

construction and political representation of the interests of society as a whole, strict adherence to and fulfillment of rights and obligations serving the optimum functioning of socialist social relations anchored in the legal code, detection and investigation of violations of these rights or failure to meet the obligations, finally bringing violators before a court of law.

Security in the social and political sense is not a product of the constitution, legislation or the legal code, on the contrary, in these are reflected the requirements for the protection of the ruling workers class, the objective source of which is the social reality of a socialist society. It is for this reason that between security as a social phenomenon and other social phenomena there exist and, given the direct link between the economy and security, directly emanate -- as shown by V.I. Lenin -- demands for measures to strengthen the socialist societal and state system and the social position of citizens in a socialist state, guarantees and protection of their social and legal certainties. Security under socialism thus becomes the objective interest not only of the ruling workers class but of all the people. Therein lies its fundamental difference from security in sociopolitical systems based on exploitation of man by man and on political repression by the exploiter classes of most of society, the masses of the exploited working people. Therein also lies the source of social comprehension of the true place of security under socialism.

Security of the state, society and individual citizens under socialism, is achieved through all-around implementation of security policy rather than -- as under capitalism -- through open or latent bureaucratic or police repression of most of society, the working masses. Historical social development has been pointing to this for a long time, however, it was only the political power of the workers class which made possible a practical realization of the social worth of the social phenomenon called security.

"Contemporary society," wrote B. Engels about capitalism in the last century, "which embitters one individual against all others, spawns social warfare of all against all which, especially with poorly educated people, will assume brutal and barbarously violent forms -- forms of crime.... We eliminate the contradictions between an individual and all the others, offer social peace against social war and nip crime in the bud, thus making redundant most of the work of administrative and court authorities. We already see a reduction in the crime of passion as compared to crimes of greed and self-interest, there are fewer crimes against persons and more against property. The course of civilization even today in our embittered society, moderates violent outbursts of passion. How much more moderated these would be in a peaceful communist society! Property crimes will disappear when everyone has all he needs to satisfy his natural and spiritual needs, when there are no longer any social barriers and differences . . . And if civilization had taught people even today to see their interest in the preservation of order, public security and public interest, in other words, to reduce to a minimum the need for police, administrative measures and courts, how much better this will be understood in a society in which the mutuality of interest is raised to the position of fundamental principle, in a society in which public interest coincides with the interest of each individual! That which now exists in defiance of the social system, will flourish if the social system, instead of fighting it, supports it."

Thus the essence of the social foundations of security policy under socialism is the fact that in removing and overcoming class antagonisms and exploitation, we have already achieved a moral and political unity of the people where existing social inequities and conflicts are no longer identified with political state authority of the ruling workers class. This authority and power does not seek petrification of social inequities and conflicts under socialism, but rather contributes to overcoming them, in harmony with overall social progress, by the transition to communism. This makes it possible, in their personal and social interest in security, for all classes and social groups in a socialist society to share in it, while simultaneously demanding active participation of classes and social groupings, as well as the popular masses, in the strengthening of the security of the socialist state, society and citizens. In current practices, this reality can be characterized by saying that the social processes in our country have an extraordinarily dynamic character. In a significant manner, they also impact on the character of the socialist political system, its practical functioning and progress. The process of a revolutionary transition from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to an all-peoples socialist state is practically not feasible without further strengthening the political positions of the workers class, without broadening its political and ideological influence on the cooperative farmers and the socialist intelligentsia, or without a close bond between them and the workers class, without development of socialist democracy and higher participation of the people in the management and administration of all of society and the socialist state. This also applies to security policy and its implementation. From this socially dynamic concept of the development of the socialist political system, emanates the task to expand the social base in the formulation and implementation of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state. This is today a topical programmatic task, since without such expansion we are unable as a society, as a state, as the National Security Corps and military contingents of the Ministry of Interior, to handle on the basis of principles of socialist humanism the most complicated, most dangerous, and most widespread problems of antisocial and illegal activity.

From the class and social foundation of security policy under socialism stems the Leninist dictum that the SNB and military contingents of the Ministry of Interior must remain close to the masses and together with them protect their legitimate programmatic, strategic and everyday interests. Consequently, the timely tasks in the formulation and implementation of the security policy of the CPCZ and the socialist state today and in the immediate future, is the strengthening of its class and social foundation.

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PROBLEMS, ROLE OF TRADE UNION IN PLAN FULFILLMENT VIEWED

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 6 Oct 82 pp 3,4

[Report by the Presidium of the URO [Central Labor Union Council] to the Second URO Plenum presented by Ladislav Abraham, first vice president of URO and chairman of the SOR [Slovak Trade Union Council]: "Trade Unionists Joining Efforts To Fulfill the Tasks of the Plan"]

[Text] The purpose of today's plenary session of the URO is to review the progress in the fulfillment of the decisions stipulated by the 10th All Trade Union Congress and to adopt measures for increasing the share of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] organs and organizations for successful achievement of the tasks for the fourth quarter of the 1982 national economic plan. We must do so in view of the fact that this year's results will determine in a significant way the conditions for our entrance into the third year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and thus also the development of our national economy and the satisfaction of the needs of our working people during the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Its target, contents and discussion, the adopted decisions and approved documents rendered the 10th All Trade Union Congress particularly important for our domestic policy and had an international impact. The congress manifested the identification of our workers class and other working people with the policies of the leading force in our society -- the CPCZ. By the same token, it contributed valuable initiative based on the rich experience of our working people, adopted specific attitudes to our current economic and sociopolitical situation, and answered question appearing in the forefront of interest of our workers class and other working people. Without any reservations it adopted the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and applied it to the realistic objectives and specific actions of our trade unions in building a developed socialist society.

Our objective adopted for the period until the end of 1982 is to explain the decisions of the congress to a broad aktiv of our officials and members, to discuss and outline the procedures for their further elaboration, to project them into the working plans and plans for action of our basic organizations in 1983, and furthermore, to adopt jointly with our state and economic authorities a program for the fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan, to prepare the plan for 1983, and thus to create preconditions for successful achievements of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

It was stressed as early as the URO constitutional plenum that the essential preconditions for determined fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by the congress demanded that the decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress be thoroughly explained to officials and members of the ROH and that they be understood and adopted by them.

#### Responsible Approach to Tasks

We commend the efforts of the officials of planning committees, superior trade union organs and particularly of the delegates to the 10th All Trade Union Congress who organized meetings and aktivs and prepared the agenda for them. They kept the membership base informed and involved it in energetic fulfillment of its assigned tasks. Most factory committees approached responsibly the task of adapting the decisions of the congress to their own circumstances, as demonstrated by membership meetings during July and August which reviewed the fulfillment of the plan and the achievements of public control of the fulfillment of collective contracts and socialist pledges adopted in honor of the 10th All Trade Union Congress.

We are delighted that membership meetings and aktivs held on a broad democratic platform appreciated the significance of the 10th All Trade Union Congress, especially its unbiased, frank and critical review of the current situation in our society, the problems and shortcomings encountered daily by our working people in the fulfillment of the tasks in their work as well as in the programs of trade union organs, and that it confirmed the expanding role of our trade unions in our socialist society. At the same time they stressed that the fulfillment of the decisions of the congress would demand better, more efficient performance of all trade union officials.

The most frequently posed questions concerned the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated by the state plan. What the URO administration had stressed was confirmed once again, namely, unsuccessful and inefficient methods of all sorts in our working people's participation in management, particularly by means of consultations on production. The participants presented numerous problems which should become the topic of discussions precisely in consultations on production.

We agree with many views of the working people -- and we said this on many occasions in plenums of the URO as well as in the congress -- that the economic plan cannot be fulfilled by extensive methods, that is, overtime, special shifts and "rush work," and that we must focus on intensive growth of such factors as higher standards in planning, management of production, labor organization and responsibility on all levels of management. The only way we can achieve this is better use of our people's creativity and initiative, more consistent implementation of the latest scientific and technological achievements, and progressive methods and forms of work.

Our working people expressed full agreement with the fact that the 10th All Trade Union Congress obligates trade union organs to intensify their participation in implementing wage policies, in the solution of more serious shortcomings in the system of rewards, and in enforcing more effective differentiation according to merit, quality and efficiency of labor.

The decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress demand that trade union organs pay more consistent attention to the social needs of our working people in plants and in all our society, and resolve long-standing shortcomings more decisively, especially problems in production and technology, selection of goods, quality of products, production and distribution of personal labor-safety aids, particularly their quality and selection, reduction of the number of hazardous workplaces, further improvement of factory dining facilities, better health care, and creation and protection of the environment. The 10th All Trade Union Congress also underlined that precisely these more complex conditions call for determined observation of the rights of the ROH to conduct social control of health safety and protection at work and for consistent application of the legal authority and coresponsibility of trade unions in economic and social areas in labor legislation.

Only decisive measures adopted by trade union organs may answer critical proposals, comments and suggestions offered in all sincerity by members inspired by discussions at the 10th All Trade Union Congress.

It is most beneficial that the measures of trade union organs are not restricted to mere organizational procedures but focused on comprehensive and balanced performance of the function of socialist trade unions, on an objective fulfillment of tasks and solution of problems. Efforts by the district and kraj trade union councils demonstrate primarily the unification and coordinations of measures and procedures of the association and all trade union organs in their support to basic organizations.

#### Style and Method of Work

The 10th All Trade Union Congress demanded that the officials of trade union associations improve the style and methods of their managing and organizational work. These challenging demands agree with their position, function and place in the organization structure of the ROH and with the rising role of trade union councils; their socioeconomic function in particular stems from their representative role and partnership with the state and economic authorities.

It was the duty of the central committees of trade union associations to process the decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress, to specify them and apply them to the conditions in individual branches, and to outline the mandatory tasks for basic organizations in preparing and stipulating the plan for operations in 1983.

All central committees of trade union associations fulfilled these tasks, though on different levels. To be sure, in some cases the key tasks were described in exceedingly general terms and thus, the decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress could not be properly adapted to the conditions in a given branch.

However, the Central Committee of the Trade Union Association of Employees of State Agencies, Finances and Foreign Trade acted improperly when it failed to stipulate the mandatory tasks for basic organizations and based the draft of the operational plan of basic organizations on the decisions of the congress of the association alone, although those decisions cannot fulfill that task, having been adopted well before the 10th All Trade Union Congress.

The differences in the approaches to the fulfillment of the decisions stipulated by the 10th All Trade Union Congress are evident also in krajs and districts. For example, measures of certain kraj committees of trade union associations and of district trade union councils repeat in very general terms the tasks stemming from the measures of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Trade Union Council. Again, there have been instances where trade union organs had assigned tasks of a branch character to basic organizations, which spawned formalism in the management and in its assistance to basic organizations.

We mention these tasks frankly in particular because they lower the standards of management and organizational work and reduce the capacities of trade union organs and basic organizations to fulfill their tasks.

The 10th All Trade Union Congress stressed that under the conditions of developed socialism the cooperation of the trade unions and of the socialist state appears increasingly more distinctly in the forefront.

Positive achievements were gained in the discussions of the URO Secretariat and the Presidium of the Federal Government, the Presidium of the CROS [Czech Trade Union Council] and the Secretariat of the SOR with the presidia of both national governments in May 1982, after which the Presidium of the URO met with the federal government, with the chairman of central committees of trade union associations participating. Their specific and relevant tasks and their agreement on a joint solution confirmed that such meetings serve our common cause and benefit our working people. Even before the government discussed and approved the proposal for the national economic plan for 1983-1985, we reviewed it and stated our position. At the same time, the Presidium of the URO acquainted the government with the decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress, with the comments and suggestions of its delegates, such as observation of the rights of trade union organs and provisions for their application by economic officials; reassessment of the principles for reviewing the plan with trade union organs and work teams; preconditions for dissemination of progressive labor experience; movements of socialist labor teams, of comprehensive rationalization teams, of improvers and inventors; more fruitful consultations on production.

Furthermore, we dealt with the problems of rewards, administration and administrative apparatus; consideration of proposals by trade union organs on better living and working conditions for our people; safety and protection of health at work; penalties against those who fail to implement the decisions of the government on personal labor safety aids; factory dining facilities; investments by the ROH; determination of norms for social facilities; more aggressive steps against indifference, negligence, inferior work and other negative phenomena; cooperation of the economic sphere with the ROH in preparing and implementing action plans, etc.

It should be mentioned with satisfaction that some of those decisions have already been implemented, among them reimbursement for meals and separation payments which were raised to the level proposed by the URO; moreover, continuous consultations on production were introduced on an experimental basis; personal costs of factory dining services are being transferred in part from the Fund for Cultural and Social Needs to the cost of the organizations; other adopted



measures include better quality of the production of personal labor safety aids and improved prevention of occupational diseases.

After the 10th All Trade Union Congress, the central as well as the Czech and Slovak committees of trade union associations for the first time held joint meetings with top representatives of appropriate organs of the governments of the federation or of the republics. The decision to hold joint meetings of state, economic and trade union officials was a correct one.

#### Joint Program

These first joint meetings of agencies sharing the same program were characterized by mutual concerns and efforts to fulfill the most fundamental tasks whose fulfillment is of primary interest to our society. Their agenda was focused on the fulfillment of the plan of the ministry in the current year and in the future years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. They dealt with the most urgent problems of our working people's welfare and of the reward system in individual branches. According to their specifics, they also dealt with specific problems of the branches. It is to their disadvantage that the joint measures they have adopted are not always sufficiently specific and direct. In the future, the central as well as the Czech and Slovak committees must become more active and exert more pressure on appropriate branch officials, requesting that meetings of this kind be held more frequently and more regularly, especially in economic production units [VHJ], enterprises and plants, and that they always be planned properly with specific agenda and decisions.

The URO in cooperation with all trade union and association organs conducted in 115 basic organizations a study of the cooperation of the economic and trade union organs, which confirmed a positive development in this direction in the period after the Seventh Plenum of the URO. Nonetheless, the Presidium of the URO stated that the cooperation of the trade union and economic organs in plants is often reduced to mere participation of a representative of the plant committee in the meetings of the economic management, and vice versa, because economic managers and trade union officials greatly underestimate each other and attach little importance to joint meetings.

One of the accomplishments in the work of trade union organs after the 10th All Trade Union Congress is the fact that most of them discussed and adopted specific measures to deal with the suggestions and proposals expressed by the delegates of the association and all trade union conferences and congresses, which indicates that the URO pays attention to the suggestions of our working people.

We were concerned in particular about the discussions and solutions of proposals and suggestions offered by the delegates at the congress as well as those presented in writing and also in the sectors of the 10th All Trade Union Congress. The Secretariat and Presidium of the URO reviewed all of them. We processed 254 items which had been presented as well as those that had not been submitted at the congress; 413 of them represented specific suggestions, proposals and ideas. The Presidium of the URO requested that every delegate be informed before the end of October about the decision concerning his or her suggestion. At the same time the Secretariat of the URO is helping all members of the federal government to resolve within their competence problems related to their activity.

In conclusion of this part of the report of the Presidium of the URO we should like to say that most trade union organs and organizations promptly and responsibly approached the adaptation and implementation of the tasks stipulated by the 10th All Trade Union Congress.

#### Development of National Economy

Despite the difficult external and internal conditions, the development of our national economy achieved many positive results this year.

The aggravated situation and the limited resources of power, raw materials and materials notwithstanding, our industry in general has become more dynamic than the plan has envisaged. The program of rationalization of production also achieved better results. However, certain negative tendencies that are still evident in the fulfillment of the plan and the failure to resolve them will have a major long-term impact.

Planned tasks in production continue to be fulfilled erratically. Also, the planned structure of sales could not be met, which is reflected in the results of foreign trade, in supplies for our domestic market and in undesirable stockpiling. Shortcomings in expansion and practical application of the achievements of scientific and technological progress still persist. Innovation of goods and improvement of their exportability have not been speedily achieved. In our view, the current shortfall in mining in the North Bohemia Lignite Mines is especially serious as a signal of increased tensions between the needs for and the resources of fuels and power in the approaching winter season.

Moreover, the tasks of the plan have not been met in our construction industry. Over the first 8 months of this year more than 60 percent of our construction enterprises failed to meet their plan and labor productivity also declined. Tasks in the deliveries of machinery and equipment for capital investment have not been met and cases of considerable lag behind the schedule of construction have been noted in major capital investment units. According to preliminary data, a desirable turn has not materialized even in September.

The tasks of this year's plan continue to be fulfilled inconsistently; for example, procurement of milk, eggs and certain other products declined in comparison with the same period of 1981. In this connection, we should like to emphasize that in accordance with the decision of the Presidium of the URO of 8 September 1982 concerning the task of the trade unions in this year's autumn agricultural operations, our trade union organs in agricultural plants, machine-tractor stations and factories of agricultural supplies as well as in plants supplying agricultural need must help by mobilizing our working people to make possible better supply of basic agricultural products for our population.

In comparison with the problems and shortcomings in our economic development, the efforts and initiative of numerous work teams which are fulfilling their planned tasks under difficult conditions are even more noteworthy. This was confirmed by the achievements in socialist competitions and by the fulfillment of socialist pledges adopted in honor of the 10th All Trade Union Congress. For instance, the socialist competition of the SONP [United Steel Works, National

Enterprise] in Kladno contributed considerably toward the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of its key tasks over the first 6 months this year and thus, helped offset the shortfalls from the preceding period. As a result of an international socialist competition the TOS [Machine Tool Factories] in Trencin overfulfilled the plan for export of machine tools by Kcs 30.8 million and thus, fulfilled 62.7 percent of the tasks stipulated by its annual export plan. Other enterprises and plans should follow these examples.

We are pleased that trade union organizations are participating more vigorously in semiannual public control of the fulfillment of the plan, in developing working people's initiative and in fulfilling collective contracts. This offers a more accurate picture of current socialist pledges adopted by work teams and individuals, particularly by socialist labor teams, and of new pledges adopted in honor of the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the 60th anniversary of the USSR. Very many work teams, especially socialist labor teams, are manifesting their inexhaustible sources of work initiative; for example, at the occasion of the Day of Miners and Power Workers and of enrollment in the ROH Book of Honor, the brigade of socialist labor [BSP] "For Progress and Peace" in the Maxim Gorki II giant open cast in Bilina, led by Comrade Frantisek Blaha, increased its socialist pledge to the current 230,000 cubic meters of soil to be removed above the state plan. In a similar way, the BSP operating the low-pressure gasline network in Cesky Tesin, led by Adolf Schindler, expanded its socialist pledge for the year in honor of the 60th anniversary of the USSR; it will overfulfill by 2 percent the plan for the maintenance of the local gasline network and save additional power and motor fuels.

The initiative of our working people was reflected in counterplanning adopted by many organizations. This process is correct, particularly in organizations of textile, garment and leather-processing industries where counterplanning was focused on key indicators of quality.

The actions of our working people on the occasion of the 10th All Trade Union Congress were also reflected in the further development of technical creativity aimed at the fulfillment of the objective set by the 10th All Trade Union Congress -- Kcs 45 billion in social benefits from the application of inventions and proposals of improvements during the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We may note with satisfaction that social benefits from the first year of application of inventions and proposals of improvements were 16.8 percent higher in the first 6 months of this year than during the same period of 1981. Good progress in this direction is noted in the NHKG [New Metallurgical Works of Klement Gottwald] in Ostrava, East Slovakia Iron Works in Kosice, SONP in Kladno, Textilana in Liberec, the 29 August Works in Partizanske, Spolana in Neratovice, Svit in Gottwaldov and other enterprises where programs promoting creativity and implementation of inventions and proposals of improvements helped achieve good results.

#### Goal-Oriented Initiative

A meaningful role in the development of our working people's initiative should be its assiduous focus on the achievements in conservation of fuels, power and metals, particularly on implementation of the tasks of state goal-oriented programs "02 -- Rationalization in Conservation and Utilization of Power and

Fuels" and "03 -- Rationalization of Metal Consumption" and their overfulfillment by .5 percent, as stipulated by the 10th All Trade Union Congress. This will be achieved by repeated control of efficiency of trade union organs and organizations.

This important societywide task presupposes that auspicious conditions be created to involve all working people in its implementation. It is the duty of the trade union associations and economic organs to make preliminary assessments of the fulfillment of adopted measures in terms of the fulfillment of the tasks and objectives of the 10th All Trade Union Congress this year and in the coming years. The knowledge and experience gained from the all-kraj competition "To Conserve Fuels and Power" organized in the North Bohemia Kraj should be applied with a greater sense of purpose.

Collective pledges are irreplaceable in the entire system of functions of trade unions in the balanced fulfillment of tasks stemming from the decision of the 10th All Trade Union Congress. The information derived from annual public control of the fulfillment of collective pledges indicates that many economic managers and certain trade union officials still cannot appreciate adequately their importance. Therefore, we cannot accept the current situation in the work with collective pledges; instead, we must focus their adoption, their contents and their control on the fulfillment of the planned tasks, on consistent application of the principle of reward based on merit, and on further improvement of social, cultural, health and working conditions of our working people.

It is certain that collective contracts could be more efficient if they were registered, as stipulated by the 10th All Trade Union Congress. Collective contracts should be registered so as to press for higher demands on the preparation and adoption of collective contracts by trade unions, enterprises and plants and on increased political, economic and legal coresponsibility of superior economic and trade union organs.

At present, long-range collective trade union contracts of VHJ are in their drafting stage. We must see to it that collective trade union contracts be adopted before the end of this month and that plants, enterprises and special-purpose facilities be able to proceed from them when they draft their own collective contracts for 1983.

We are on the threshold of the last quarter of 1982, a year in which the fulfillment of the plan progressed thus far in a very challenging way, although it failed to reach the planned dynamism. It is imperative to achieve consistently the factors of the growth of dynamism, to reduce the consumption of power and materials as required and to fulfill our export tasks in the best possible way.

#### Vital Tasks of Our Time

The main task of this time is to concentrate all forces on the fulfillment of the plan for 1982 and to provide the best possible preconditions for a successful beginning of 1983. These urgent needs led the Presidium of the CSSR Government and the Presidium of the URO to decide to adopt the Principles for Unified

Procedures in the Fulfillment of the Tasks of This Year's Plan and in Preparations for 1983. The government approved these principles on 30 September 1982 and the Presidium of the URO approved them today.

The approved procedure emphasizes main directions for eliminating the problems and bottlenecks caused by current economic conditions. Central committees of trade union associations, which will play a meaningful role in the coming period, will discuss with the management of the ministries in special meetings of the presidia the fulfillment of the plan for this year and organize the drafting of the plan for 1983. They will proceed from specific conditions of the branches, trade unions and enterprises, and provide necessary assistance to those enterprises and trade unions that are having serious difficulties with the fulfillment of their plan. For that reason it was stipulated that directors of key VJH or syndicate enterprises attend these special sessions.

The government and the URO underlined again that the central committees of trade union associations, along with the ministries, must also fully utilize the statewide BSP branch conferences which will take place in October and November of this year, and mobilize our working people for the fulfillment of the plan for 1982 and involve them in the drafting of the plan for 1983. This will be at the same time another incentive for the BSP collectives to seek the ways and to reveal untapped assets so that our BSP continue to stand as a vanguard of progress, share experience from their work all over the state, and that their exemplary attitude and specific actions inspire also other working people to fulfill their planned tasks.

Although less than one quarter remains until the end of this year, the stepped-up efforts of our construction workers and suppliers of technology may reduce the shortfalls in the fulfillment of the plan for capital investment, particularly in the construction of nuclear power stations, of fuel and power projects, etc., which will have a decisive impact on the creation and use of our national income even in the future years of this 5-year plan. We are, therefore, putting such stress on the task of the trade unions and state organs to help more vigorously in organizing and consistently fulfilling joint socialist pledges.

If we emphasize the essential role played by the committees of the trade union associations and branch ministries in the fulfillment of planned tasks, we must underscore at the same time that basic organizations in enterprises and plants are the decisive battlefields where the fulfillment of the plan will be directly determined. Therefore, the ROH plant committees together with the economic management must use all the tested forms of working people's participation in the management of the production, in accordance with joint procedures of the Presidium of the URO and of the CSSR Government. From these unified procedures, there follow also convocations of special consultations on production in workplaces, factorywide production aktivs, technical production conferences, meetings with innovators, improvers, champion workers and members of comprehensive rationalization teams. At such consultations on production, aktivs and meetings directors and other managers must acquaint our working people with their key tasks and problems, consult with them, learn to apply their experience, and join basic organizations in focusing their initiative on the highest possible fulfillment of the tasks of this year's plan in all indicators, particularly in indicators of quality.

Furthermore, the government stipulated that the ministries process and specify the decisions and results of the Statewide Aktiv of Innovators and Inventors scheduled for 19 October 1982 in Brno, with a focus on the implementation of topical tasks and on further conservation of fuels, power and metals.

#### The Effect of the Wage System

In terms of labor and wages, the decisive task is to fulfill the first stage of the program of the government and URO for the achievement of higher economic efficiency of the wage system. Our experience thus far has shown that many enterprises are still lagging in their fulfillment of these objectives of the program, particularly as concerns rationalization and standardization of labor, and in their implementation of economically effective wage forms. The deadlines for these tasks have not been met and moreover, tendencies of their formalistic fulfillment have been noted. Appropriate trade union and economic organs must not allow this to continue.

Lists of bonuses and guidelines for grants of rewards were adapted in most organizations to better express the tasks for which individual workers and labor teams are responsible or which they may effectively influence. Some progress has been achieved also in the sense that now their indicators are focused more on quality, efficiency and economy. Nevertheless, that is not enough. These important instruments of material incentives must be continuously upgraded and specified so that their fulfillment objectively expresses real merits for the achievements and for demonstrable conservation of fuels, power, metals and raw materials.

In all organizations, especially in those where the fulfillment of planned tasks is in jeopardy, trade union organs must agree with the economic management on a procedure and adopt measures to maintain the mandatory limits of wages payable.

The current situation in the fulfillment of our national economic plan demands that trade union organs concentrate their efforts and organize their political activity, focusing particularly on the implementation of key tasks.

We should like to express our conviction that all trade union organs and the economic management will do everything in their power to achieve this year the best possible economic results and to start successfully the third year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The challenging tasks of our national economy which must be met before the end of this year compel us to resolve them in close connection with effective ideological education.

The tasks of the socioeconomic development of our society, stipulated by the 16th CPCZ Congress presuppose that the standard of the political-organizational work of the trade union organs and organizations be further upgraded. This means that every member of the ROH must be won over for the fulfillment of the tasks outlined by the 10th All Trade Union Congress. As mentioned above, under the current circumstances it is particularly imperative to concentrate all the

energy of the trade unions on the fulfillment of this year's national economic plan and thus, to generate auspicious conditions for our entrance into 1983.

#### Comprehensive Action Plans

Precisely the action plans of basic organizations should serve in 1983 as the instrument for the fulfillment of these tasks. When drafting action plans, we must proceed from the tasks of the 10th All Trade Union Congress and from the tasks of the branches stipulated by central committees of trade union associations; these must be applied to the conditions of individual plants and trade union organizations. With respect to the positive experience from the development of action plans, an effort must be made to present them in a comprehensive and balanced form and to focus them on the key tasks concerning social involvement, economy, working people's welfare, ideological education, political organization and fulfillment of international obligations by our basic organizations.

In our opinion it is imperative that our members acquaint themselves with the proposed action plan, that they study it and after it is approved by the membership meeting or factory committee, that they adapt it to their plan of operation, to the plans of operation of the commissions, shop councils and trade union sectors. At the same time, we must keep in mind that its fulfillment must be under constant control.

The action plan must specify the tasks for a significant event for trade unions next year, namely, the exchange of membership cards, a meaningful political act that should be used to the fullest for further consolidation of the position of trade unions in our socialist society as well as for further development of democracy within trade unions. For us, this is another occasion when all our members may be offered an opportunity to express informally their views and attitudes as concerns the performance of their basic organization and of the entire ROH. The exchange of membership cards will provide yet another opportunity to explain to our members the current role, position and function of our ROH as well as their rights, duties, the meaning of the membership in the ROH and the need for our members' involvement in the fulfillment of the goals of trade union programs. The exchange must be used to make all, especially the young, members better acquainted with the statutes of the ROH.

#### Support for Peace Initiatives

The challenging tasks outlined by the 10th All Trade Union Congress may be gradually fulfilled only in peaceful conditions, in an atmosphere of cooperation and understanding among nations. In accordance with its revolutionary traditions, our trade union movement plays an active part in the common struggle for the preservation of peace, for the policy of detente, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, for a world of peaceful work and social progress. Working people of various nations, nationalities, ages and convictions are also getting united in the trade unions against the pressure of the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism in international relations, against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. Daily developments in various parts of the world confirm this fact.

The 10th All Trade Union Congress appealed to all national, regional and international trade union centers to celebrate the first day of September as the Day of Trade Union Actions for Peace. The first Day of Trade Union Actions for Peace this year unambiguously confirmed that the struggle for preservation of peace is the task of the first consideration and of the highest importance for the working people and trade unions on every continent. In recent days, the URO received hundreds of cables, resolutions and appeals adopted at peace assemblies, meetings and sessions of basic organizations and trade union sectors, which is proof of the active support of the working people for the peace initiatives of the USSR and the process of detente as well as a demand to stop the frenzied arms race.

The URO highly appreciates this initiative and regards it as one of the concrete steps toward the fulfillment of the decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress as well as a meaningful contribution to joint actions of the international trade union movement. We may similarly characterize the powerful peace assemblies of the SONP workers in Kladno and of the J. Dimitrov Chemical Works in Bratislava which were also attended by prominent representatives of the WFTU.

It should be emphasized that in the future, too, an important place in our international activity will be assigned to the support of progressive forces in those countries where the rights of trade unions and appropriate social conditions are not facts of life and where it is frequently necessary to fight for them, often with weapons in hand. It is important for us that during its recent visit in Syria a delegation of the URO was able to express directly its full solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples precisely at the time when Israel's aggression, the greatest and most brutal in history, had murdered the civilian population. Several actions had preceded this visit after the explosion of the Israeli aggression in Lebanon; they expressed our political, moral and material support for the sorely tried Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and our solidarity with them, for example, by active participation of Czechoslovak trade unionists in the World Trade Union Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of Palestine and Lebanon in Paris in July of this year, an expression of support to the fraternal trade unions of the Palestine at a reception for the top Palestinian trade union representatives by Comrade Hoffmann, chairman of the URO, and recently by a condemnation of Israeli crimes in the proclamation by the URO. Czechoslovak trade unions also provided material aid, including health and pharmaceutical supplies, for the Lebanese and Palestinian trade unions in August and September of this year. In view of this exceedingly complex international situation, we consider it our particular duty stemming from the class and international positions of the ROH to organize and operate the Fund of International Solidarity. In the future, we shall again pay special respect to those trade union organizations which conscientiously fulfill this international ethical duty.

After the 10th World Trade Union Congress a few days ago, the first session of the Bureau of the WFTU took place. Its proceedings were focused on the fulfillment of one of the most relevant tasks stipulated by the 10th World Trade Union Congress -- to improve the efficiency of the activities of the WFTU and of national trade union centers in order to expand and intensify the unity of action of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. It outlined the tasks for activities for the coming period. In its framework, a special session on



peace and disarmament was held and once again its appeals urged meaningful initiatives to promote the participation of the international trade union movement in the struggle for the preservation of world peace and for detente. In this contact, the active contribution made in the past to this struggle by our ROH was recognized.

It applies today more than ever before that the fundamental contribution and a vital force for the preservation of world peace as well as for the consolidation of the positions of real socialism is conscientious and responsible daily work of teams and individuals in every workplace.

We are approaching the fulfillment of the decisions of the 10th All Trade Union Congress is a situation when all forces of our society must concentrate on a successful achievement of the objectives of this year's state economic plan. In accordance with this societywide effort, it is imperative for all organs and organizations of the ROH to focus their efforts in the remaining months of this year primarily on consistent fulfillment of the tasks stemming from the "Principles of Unified Procedure of the CSSR Government and of the URO to Fulfill the Tasks of the National Economic Plan for 1982 and Preparation for 1983," and to develop initiative on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the February [1948] victory of the workers class over reaction.

The Presidium of the URO is convinced that members of our trade unions again will not spare their efforts and energy in fulfilling the goals of the action and the measures we have outlined for the time remaining until the end of 1982.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MARX'S TEACHINGS TO BE APPLIED 'CREATIVELY' IN 1980'S ECONOMIC STRATEGY

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 27 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Dr Juergen Jungnickel, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee: "Why Do We Study Marx?"]

[Text] When we and all progressive people in the world with us commemorate the 165th birthday of Karl Marx in 1983, we pay homage to a man who with his two inventions--the materialistic conception of history and the surplus value theory--transformed socialism from a utopia into a science. By disclosing the developmental laws of human society and the historic mission of the workers class derived from it, Marx and Engels gave the communists and all progressive forces the compass for the overthrow of the capitalist exploiter order and the construction of socialist and communist society.

The Burning Currency of the Classical Authors' Doctrines

A few years ago one could find ads in FRG papers outlining the head of Marx, with the caption "Trust no one over 130." That was to suggest to the readers that Marx's doctrine is obsolete and of no current relevance. Were one to believe that, then the study of Marx's works would indeed not be necessary today. It so happens that reality demonstrates something quite different. It may be affirmed today without reservation that his ideas are of increasing influence on millions of people. The demand for his writings has gone up by leaps and bounds in recent years in all parts of the world. In view of the deep crisis processes in the capitalist world and the great dangers to world peace stemming from there, more and more people realize that an answer to the vital questions of our time can come only from the scientific working class world-outlook established by Marx and further developed by Lenin. The worry about the increasing attraction of Marxism-Leninism makes many bourgeois ideologues in the FRG clamor noisily now for a "renaissance of Marx criticism." That cannot deny the fact, however, that the victory of the October Revolution, the construction of socialism in countries on four continents, and the successful development of real socialism are persuasive evidence to the scientific nature, vitality and burning currency of our classical authors' doctrines. Therein ultimately is found the reason for the growing radiation of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

## Principally a Guide for Action

Marx's doctrine is aimed at the revolutionary change of the world. It is principally a guide for action. In that sense it was stated at the fourth session of the Central Committee: "We honor Karl Marx by what we do for the implementation of the 10th party congress policy. We honor Karl Marx by our long-term theoretical-ideological work through which we spread the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism among the masses for reinforcing the socialist class consciousness of the working people, fostering their commitment to the all-round consolidation of the GDR, and for taking aggressive issue with all manifestations of imperialist and bourgeois ideology."<sup>1</sup> To use Marx's doctrine as a guide for action, one must of course know it thoroughly. True to the Marxist realization that "theory becomes a material force as soon as it grabs the masses,"<sup>2</sup> our party has always paid great attention to the study and dissemination of the writings of our classic authors, regarding it as a concern of the first importance in our ideological work. Already in 1946, in publishing 100,000 copies of the "Communist Manifesto"--this birth certificate of scientific socialism--it induced the study of our classic authors. If the first topic in the party school year deals with Karl Marx and the timeliness of his doctrine, it is fully in line with our party line and accords with its "tested principle of constantly consulting the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism and study and creatively apply their teachings."<sup>3</sup> This way many people in our country, especially the SED members, will comprehensively and profoundly appropriate the doctrines of our classic authors. That in turn will help greatly in creatively approaching the solution of the tasks issued by the 10th SED Congress.

## Combining It With the Study of the Party Resolutions

The 165th birthday of Marx provides us not only with an occasion to reflect on the world historic achievement of this ingenious revolutionary and scientist, but it also is, as previous days of commemoration have been, a high point in our political-ideological work. There is no better way of paying homage to Karl Marx than to study his works and use the insights contained in them for coping with the complicated tasks ahead of us of strengthening the GDR as a stable member of the socialist family of nations and a bastion of peace. The study of Marx's works should not be an end in itself, however, but be combined with the study of the party resolutions. Therefore today, as has always been the case in the revolutionary workers movement, the main tasks to be solved must be the centerpiece of our study of Karl Marx's works. Especially then one can see how inexhaustible Marx's works are. His doctrine is the scientific basis for the revolutionary workers movement. Lenin and the communist and workers parties kept building on that basis. Marx's doctrine is not only the scientific foundation for shaping the developed socialist society, it also furnishes the scientific method for how new questions raised by public affairs in practice are to be tackled and resolved. If our party directs us to study the writings of the classic authors it is because the experiences thus far in socialist construction have always again proven the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin correct. In a way different from the one they have charted no other socialist society has thus far been established.

As the experiences with socialist construction have demonstrated, the demands made on the awareness and creativeness of the working people increase in this process as well as those made on ideological culture and education. More than ever today applies this remark by Lenin: "The deeper the transformation we want to achieve, the more must we awaken interest in and a conscious attitude toward it, in convincing more and more millions of people of this need."<sup>4</sup> What could be more suitable for it than studying the original sources of Marxism-Leninism?

Successes achieved in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR essentially are due to the fact that our party has always known, in theory and practice, how to apply the universal inevitabilities in socialist construction which the founders of scientific socialism discovered to the conditions in the GDR. They include the leadership role of the workers class and its party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the public ownership in the means of production, the conscious management of all public domains, the alliance between the workers class and the farmers, and proletarian internationalism. It is found to be true time and time again that in our present age the application and creative further development of these universal inevitabilities is possible only through the unity of Marxism and Leninism. The most recent example for it is the theory on the developed socialist society which the fraternal parties worked out in the 1970's, and which is based on the Marxist recognition of the two phases of maturation in communist society. Our party has made a contribution to it by working out its main task and its economic strategy.

#### Applying Marx's Insights Creatively

The economic strategy for the 1980's, as formulated at the 10th party congress, marks an important theoretical achievement by the SED, showing its ability to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to our concrete conditions. In essential respects it depends directly on the Marxist understanding of the intensively expanded reproduction. That relates, e.g., to the connection between increasing public wealth and reducing the investment of embodied and live labor. For coping with those problems, marking the focal point of the economic strategy, Marx's writings offer a treasure of experiences. Mining it can only be of benefit to putting the economic strategy into effect. The legacy of our classic authors has to be used still more purposefully for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. To that end it is necessary to enrich our knowledge in economics through the works of the classic authors and employ them in practice as a means of our efforts for improved efficiency and labor quality.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Paul Verner, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee), Berlin, 1982, p 73.
2. Karl Marx, "On the Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right,'" MEW, Vol 1, 385.
3. Comrade Paul Verner, op. cit., p 72.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Eighth All-Russian Soviet Congress, 22-29 December 1920," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, p 495.

LEADING ROLE OF PZPR IN POLITICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 118-131

[Article by Jerzy Kucinski: "The PZPR in the System of Authority']

[Text] The present crisis has swept over all fields of social, economic, political and moral life. It has put on the daily agenda fundamental problems concerning methods of governing the state and implementing democracy, the activity of the State apparatus, the implementation of the party's leading role, the openness of public life and law and order.

This article does not extensively treat the question of the indispensability of the working class party's exercising its leading role in the political system of socialism and the legitimizing of this role. At the outset, however, I would like to call to mind those theses of Marxism-Leninism concerning the party's role in the mechanism of authority that are of vital significance to further considerations. They are:

--if the State is to maintain its socialist character, the Communist Party must preserve its leading role within it;

--the leading role of the party emanates from the leading role of the working class in the socialist society, as well as from the fact that the working class is the ruling class in the socialist State;

--one should not identify the activity of the party with the activity of the State;

--the party and the State should serve the current interests of the working masses and the attainment of the historical goals of the working class and the entire working population.

I would like to use an idea of Vladimir Lenin concerning the implementation of the party's leading role (Lenin use the term "the leadership role of the party"). Notwithstanding the detailed treatment he gave to certain forms that he considered to be universal in the implementation of the party's leading role in the mechanism of authority (forms that socialist doctrine still considers universal), the point of departure of his discussion was the assertion that those forms should always be used that will guarantee the party's leading role under the given historical circumstances. Lenin

stressed the fact that these forms should be different for different periods of time and different places.

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One must begin the deformation of the mechanism for exercising authority in Poland that occurred during the 1970's with the attempt to restructure the concept of the State as professed by the political leadership of the time. According to this concept, the State was identified with the political organization of society, and even with its entire political system. This concept of the State had numerous consequences not only in the field of theory, but primarily in the sphere of practice. This led to restricting or nationalizing nonstate forms of the organization of social life.<sup>1</sup> The often-stressed class nature of the socialist State should be expressed in actions that realize the interests of the working class and working population. In the Polish reality of the 1970's, these interests came to be regarded less and less in programs of state activity, being supplanted by the interests of various pressure groups.

State policy during the 1970's was lacking in the necessary efforts to broaden the social base of state authority by reinforcing the systemic principle of the worker-peasant alliance and the alliance with the intelligentsia. Political parties--the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party]--were thrust into specific group positions. In reality, the National Unity Front [FJN] did not unite the nation, since it did not become a forum for the confrontation of views on the country's most critical problems, but was instead an example of an institutional facade. To some extent, the representative organs (the Sejm, the People's Councils [RN's]) were likewise a facade. The role of self-governing institutions, including cooperative institutions, was reduced; the trade movement was also deformed severely. Authority in the strict sense of the word, was based on a relatively narrow social foundation. Under this situation, the political leadership promulgated the concept of the "moral-political unity of the nation," an idea that was inadequate to the contemporary reality.

The need to strengthen the state was stressed often in official political pronouncements. In Leninist terms, giving proper consideration to tasks for broadening the scope of the socialist democracy, we may think from this slogan that most Poles believed that we should possess a strong state. In practice, however, especially since the mid-1970's, the members of the political state leadership began to identify the term "strong state" with the term "strong authority"--strong not in the support of society, but in the ability to impose on society ideas that it had not approved, strong in the centralization of power and in the primary role of executive organs in the state apparatus. The state became the highest judge and supervisor of its subject, society, which was deprived of effective instruments of influence and control.

In their speeches, members of the political leadership often assured society that it was the intent of those in power to expand the socialist democracy to

all fields of life and to increase the share of working people in the exercise of State authority. Aspects of the present crisis that are the "consequence of the breakdown in the principle of democracy, which defines the political essence of socialism,"<sup>2</sup> attest to the fact that these promises were not kept. At the same time, it was forgotten in the practice of the system that socialist democracy should have a class nature and should serve the interests of the working class above all.

Since they did not have the necessary channels to articulate the interests of their class or the possibility of ensuring that these interests would be given priority in state policy, workers were inclined to make direct addresses and to attempt to force sociopolitical changes upon the representatives of authority. These direct speeches became a characteristic feature of Polish sociopolitical processes. Their purpose was familiarization with the interests of the working class and its limited role; their cause was the underestimation of the working class aspects of democracy that are key aspects of our system.

One must admit that at the beginning of the 1970's, the system of institutions and forms increasing the share of citizens in government was expanded. The institutional structure of democracy created a fair potential for meeting the needs and representing the interests of particular socioprofessional groups. However, these possibilities were used less and less. The restricted participation of citizens in the process of crucial decisionmaking at the state, voivodship, gmina and plant levels, the shallowness of the system of consultation, the aversion to criticism and the whitewash of the "propaganda of success" weakened the political subjectivity of society.

The gap broadened between the structure of democracy as declared and that which existed in reality. When the differences between the two were noticed, official political pronouncements merely pointed to the need for some revisions emanating from the needs of the economic-political situation and the state of social awareness. More significant steps were not taken because at the basis of the paternalistic attitude to the working class was the conviction that the authorities know best what society needs, and the working class was not yet mature enough for democracy.

Meanwhile the citizens, in particular the young, began to treat the idea of democracy more and more seriously, as they did the call to active participation in joint government. The answer to this sort of attitude and expectation did not become a consciously guided process of the political leadership. In practice, the aim was to increase the level of state control of society and to strengthen autocratic methods of exercising state authority. The powerlessness of working people in the face of such tendencies and the mechanisms for realizing them, along with growing economic problems, brought about the gradual loss of confidence of citizens in authority.

At the Eighth PZPR KC [Central Committee] Plenum in February 1971, and at the Sixth Party Congress, many valid ideas were offered concerning the realization of the Marxist-Leninist party's leading role in the socialist state. However,

the agile turn of phrase "The party leads and the government governs" also appeared, becoming the official interpretation of the party's role in the 1970's. From the beginning, this formula was unclear. For the ordinary citizen, it glossed over the differences between leadership and government. Moreover, it was inept, since government in the political and legal sense encompasses state decision-making both by administrative organs and organs of the state authority.

This formula was applied quite freely in practice. By leaving some representative organs, particularly the Sejm, outside of its scope, it downgraded their position within the system, facilitated the clear ascendancy of administrative organs over organs of state authority that was occurring in practice, and tended to implement the leading role mainly through organs of administration, and not representative organs. The attempt made at the Eighth PZPR Congress to clarify this formula did not introduce any new elements, but was essentially an attempt to generalize the practice of the 1970's. Nonetheless, the formula itself remained (perhaps intentionally) unclear.

In party documents, especially those of the first half of the 1970's, the timeliness of the Leninist principle that the party should not be identified with the state was roundly upheld. This confirmed the organizational separation of the party and the state apparatus and the nature of their daily activity as distinct from one another. In practice, however, the authority of party and state organs clashed frequently as the party apparatus made decisions that were within the jurisdiction of the organs of administration, helped out these organs, substituted or duplicated them.

The lack of definition of party and government leadership powers caused these organs to be identified with one another in the opinion of society. This was aided by the often repeated propaganda formulas "Party and government," "Party and government leadership." In reality, the party did become identified more and more with every administrative-technocratic decision of the government. Thus, its image in the social consciousness as mouthpiece for society's interests, and the interests of the working class and working people became obliterated. In August 1980, this situation became extremely detrimental to the party. It became engulfed in administrative work and in settling the minute details of many matters for state organs; it became bureaucratized, centralized and statized. This made it responsible for every offense of the administration against the citizen. The responsibility of the state apparatus for decision-making decreased; the tendencies increased toward evading this responsibility by obtaining the prior approval of the party apparatus.

The control of representative organs over the administration became more and more illusory. There is much truth in the view that the political leadership treated these organs as an ornament of the system, and not an indispensable structure for organizing social life properly. This attitude to representative organs reinforced the then ascendancy of organs of administration over organs of state authority.



Executive organs that functioned independently of representative organs and society to a significant degree held the dominant position in the system of state organs in Poland during the 1970's. This was a flagrant violation of the constitutional model, in which the superior position in the system of state organs is held by representative organs as the vehicles of a unified state authority whose sovereign is the working people of urban and rural areas.

One may conclude that during the second half of the 1970's there arose in Poland the phenomenon of excessive centralization of state authority. Criticism of this tendency did not bring the political leadership to change its attitude. Nor did a change occur at the Eighth Congress, despite the general criticism in discussion preceding the Congress. Thousands of PZPR members openly stated their thoughts on the worsening situation. However, no conclusions were drawn from this.

In seeking the causes of the deformation of the state authority mechanism, one must mention a group of structural causes.<sup>3</sup> Their existence is proved by the fact that the proposals for institutional and functional changes in the state authority mechanism in Poland made during the 1950's and 1970's were so similar that they were practically identical. This happened because these proposals aimed at eliminating the same shortcomings from the Polish political system.

Here we must go back to 1948, when the battle was being waged in Poland over the future shape of socialism and of the political system. Many factors went into the arbitrary striking of a significant portion of the creative achievements of the Polish communist and socialist movement; the concept of the so-called "Polish road to socialism" was rejected. Although the policy of building the foundations of socialism in Poland formulated in 1948 and 1949 may be justified in terms of the contemporary domestic and international situation and the development of Marxist theory, it ultimately contradicted the Leninist teaching of the diversity of roads to socialism and of the importance of universal truths that nevertheless did not signify a single, schematic model.

Democracy was thrust into the background by the various forms of commands given to working people and decisions imposed on them from above. The role of the party was understood in practice as its total monopoly of authority. The political leadership did not yield to the control of the working class. The channels of the expression of social interests were gradually blocked. Decisions and orders moved only from top to bottom.

The style of exercising authority that took shape during this period continued during the years of the stormy development of the working class under socialist industrialization and the increase in its numbers and awareness. This style became an anachronism. During the mid-1950's, the lack of necessary reforms led to a severe maladjustment of political structures and mechanisms to the level of development of production forces and the state of social awareness.

The attempt made from 1955 to 1957 to correct these shortcomings did not fully conquer the arbitrary, bureaucratic style of exercising authority. Tendencies toward centralization of authority and minute control of every field of life rose up briskly. The economic problems that occurred during the 1960's reinforced these tendencies.

As in the second half of the 1950's, after December 1970 the political leadership announced the execution of many previously recommended and demanded changes in the political system, in the mechanism of exercising authority and in methods of guiding and managing socioeconomic life. A "Party-Government Commission for Modernizing the System of Functioning of the Economy and the State" was even set up. Unfortunately, no major changes were made. One must concur with the thesis that in this regard the 1970's were merely an extension of the 1960's, since one does not see any new kinds of phenomena in the area of the socialization of decision-making. This decade once again confirmed the occurrence of a particular phenomenon that E. Erazmus classed among the "negative rules accompanying the resolution of social contradictions" that are apparent during a period of overcoming crisis when society has calmed down and the reform program is minimized so that the results achieved are considered to be optimal and final.

After the December crisis, the irregularities in the operation of the economy were often given as one of the basic causes of the crisis. However, no conclusions were drawn from this. Hence the view that the economic optimism of the first half of the 1970's, particularly 1971 to 1973, and social support for the announced socioeconomic strategy weakened the will of the political leadership to implement the changes announced after December in the system of directing and managing the economy and in the mechanism of exercising authority. Later, when growing economic difficulties became apparent, the only solution seemed to be still more centralization in the management of the national economy, which meant, in turn, centralization of authority. The authorities did not want to admit their mistakes; such a situation gave little hope that the indispensable changes would be made.

I intentionally presented the ties between economics and authority as one-way ties. In reality a two-way relationship existed; the attempts to reform the economy were resisted by the traditional system of exercising authority. This eroded even the initial reform moves, and eventually they were abandoned.

The rejection of plans to make changes in the economy and in the methods of exercising authority ossified and exacerbated the mistakes that were criticized at the Seventh and Eighth Central Committee Planums. Society was all the more dissatisfied with this because stronger aspirations for coparticipation in governing and management were appearing in the consciousness of the people.<sup>5</sup>

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The experiences of our country up to this time lead to the conclusion that the entire mechanism of exercising authority, both in terms of structure and function, should serve to implement as fully as possible the basic values of

the socialist system, which include democracy, social justice and individual development. It is these values that mark the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system. Thus, the degree of their implementation must become one of the basic criteria for assessing the effectiveness of action taken by the authority.

It follows naturally from Marxism-Leninism that the socialist political system can be reformed, that is, that new elements may be added or former elements may be expanded. The most difficult question regards the direction of such reform. If a synthetic approach is used to determine the direction of indispensable changes in the mechanism of exercising state authority, this means the considerable democratization of the mechanism of exercising state authority in such a way that does not engender the threat of anarchy or a reduction in the effectiveness of actions. One does not draw this conclusion merely on the basis of the critical attitude to the political reality of the 1970's. It follows naturally from the lasting value in Lenin's teaching placed on the indissoluble link between socialism and democracy.

There are two aspects to the democratization of the mechanism of exercising state authority--the material and the formal-legal. The first concerns the expression by authority of the interests of the working class and working people, and the second concerns the exercise of this authority based on democratic procedures. Such democratization will increase the opportunity for social approval of the actions of authority; it will make the exercise of authority more effective; it will enable us to overcome the division into governing and governed that is foreign to socialism; it will make the operation of the socialist system more effective, and it will bring about the elimination of obsolete, inadequate forms and institutions of the system and their replacement with new forms and institutions better adapted to the social relations developing in socialism.

The democratization of the mechanism of authority in the material sense may be achieved only by raising the working class to the rank of the ruling class that exercises political and social hegemony, that is, by ensuring this class the status of a real and not merely a formal subject. Increasing the share of producers in decisions concerning production and the utilization of national assets and augmenting the share of working people in decision-making on public issues at the community, gmina, voivodship and national levels will help to implement this task.

The democratization of the mechanism for exercising authority in the formal-legal sense should encompass above all the process of formulating the program of development and decision-making, appointing leadership teams in the party and state, and supervising actions of the authorities. The democratization of the decision-making process places many demands before the authorities. This process must be a continual, open and public discussion with society (and not a monologue), aimed at ensuring its participation in decision-making and in distributing responsibility for the development of the country among all forces that are in favor of socialism. The democratization of the procedure for appointing leadership teams in the party and in the state, which concretizes the responsibility of representatives to the represented,

can be very important for legitimizing authority. The democratization of the process of supervising the authorities' actions means the genuine operation of a cohesive system of social control and effective state control of the executive work of state organs. It also assumes various forms of social criticism of actions of authority.

Another important task is the broadening of the social base of authority in our country in the direction of allied parties and nonparty affiliations. The Front of National Accord should include adherents of socialism, all those who do not oppose socialism and those social groups that either were thrust into the margin of public life or separated themselves from it, seeing the ineffectiveness of their efforts and moves. This is the primary method for realizing the ideal of the strong state: through wise law defining the role of law and the limits of authority, through an efficiently operating state apparatus and the conscious support of its citizens who participate in a democratic way in decision-making on state issues, and execute their own obligations in a disciplined manner.

Changes in the mechanism of exercising state authority must increase the ability of the political system to adapt to changing conditions and must build into the system automatic corrective mechanisms. By "automatic" we do not mean functioning without the conscious actions of the political forces in Poland. The reality of the system of People's Poland has proved many times the inaccuracy of the recurring thesis that democracy will develop automatically with the development of the socialist system. According to the Leninist thesis, we must constantly strive for the development of this system. The Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the class that is most interested in building of a new society, is obliged to lead in the implementation of this task.

Closer cooperation between political parties in Poland--the PZPR, the ZSL--is associated with this. Much attention is being given today to improving political cooperation with the ZSL and the SD. The transformation of consultative commissions into commissions of party and political party cooperation in September 1980 was an expression of the aim of all sides to consolidate interparty cooperation. In December 1980, the PZPR Central Committee Political Bureau jointly with the ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] Presidium and the SD CK [Central Committee] Presidium adopted the "Declaration of PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation." The Character of interparty cooperation was defined in this document as a total partnership, taking into account the independent role of the ZSL and the SD in the cocreation and implementation of the program of development of socialist Poland. The joint PZPR and ZSL program in crucial problems of farm policy and the joint PZPR and SD program in the development of the spheres of services and small-scale production are concrete manifestations of cooperative programs.

Since August 1980, the PZPR has spoken out on behalf of the need to create a nationwide front of good will, reason and patriotic responsibility. In October 1981, General Wojciech Jaruzelski presented a proposal before the Sejm concerning the creation of the Front of National Accord, to include all social forces and all citizens who approve endorse the constitutional

principles of the system. Consequently, the formula he proposed was broad. This attempt to build a Front of National Accord from above did not succeed due to the negative position of the Solidarity leadership.

At the end of 1981 and beginning of 1982, under martial law, Citizens' Committees for National Salvation [now: Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth] [OKON] began to organize at the grassroots level. In their first phase of operation, their purpose was to impart support for the actions of the Military Council for National Salvation [OKON]. Today, there are several thousand such committees. Their major function is becoming the creation of conditions throughout Poland for rebirth and national accord. The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum expressed the conviction that OKON "will occupy...a permanent place in the system of socialist democracy and will unite the initiatives and aspirations of all citizens..."

At the Ninth Congress, the PZPR announced its "partnerly cooperation" with social organizations. This concept emphasizes the fact that the party's exercising of its leading role in relation to social organization will not violate their autonomy and self-government. The PZPR wishes to realize the function of political leader among these organizations through its members who also belong to such organizations. In the future, this will also apply to trade unions. At the present time, their activity, like the activity of some other organizations, is suspended. For several months, there has been an ongoing discussion of the shape to be assumed by the reborn trade union movement.

The PZPR has spoken out in favor of the development of the self-governing body as an important trend in social life. It has maintained that the self-governing body is not opposed in form to the socialist state. It has devoted a great deal of attention to the problem of workforce self-government in enterprises. Last year, the Third PZPR Central Committee Plenum was devoted to these matters. On 25 September 1981, the Sejm passed a law concerning state enterprises and a law on the workforce self-government in a state enterprise. Based on the implementation of these laws, which grant the self-government many powers, the activity of the self-governing body, which was suspended under martial law, is being renewed gradually.

After August 1980, the position of the Sejm within the system was strengthened. This is apparent in legislative activity, in supervision of government actions and in the implementation of its creative function. The change made in October 1980 in the status of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] within the system of state organs and the growth of its role as an institution controlling the activity of the state and economic administration have had a positive impact upon this. It may be assumed that the Socioeconomic Council appointed by this organ will help to increase the position of the Sejm within the system in the field of outlining the basic directions of state activity. This council will also assist the highest national representative organs to express social interests.

The newly amended law on people's councils aims to strengthen the position of the councils--the organs of authority over local administrative organs;

to give legal form to the constitutional formula of councils as fundamental organs of social self-government, and to create closer ties between the councils and other forms of social self-government.

Far reaching changes have occurred in government activity. Much attention is being devoted to the issue of strengthening the authority and efficiency of the administration work (for example, service regulations are in preparation for employees of the administration) and likewise to increasing the soundness and fairness of its decisions (the social consultative councils under central and local administrative organs should also help this).

A number of legal documents passed in 1981 and 1982 will also help to make sociopolitical life more openly democratic. These include a law concerning the supervision of publications and visual presentations and laws concerning economic reform. The preparation of the drafts of other laws in this field, including laws on the Council of Ministers and on the rural self-government, is in its advanced stages.

In accordance with a recommendation contained in a resolution of the Ninth Congress and a WRON order, the scope of legal guarantees of law and order is being broadened significantly. In this area, the Tribunal of State and the Constitutional Tribunal should play an important role. The need is being considered to strengthen the constitutional principle of the independence of courts and to raise the position of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General within the system. This cursory glance at the changes that have been implemented, and those in preparation, indicates the broad scope of implementation of the provisions of the Ninth Congress.

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In considering the question of the party's role in the mechanism of authority, we must look closely at the PZPR itself. Its leading role depends largely upon the kind of organization it is.

A resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress unequivocally defined the nature of the party in these terms: "The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the ideological basis of PZPR activity."<sup>7</sup> In this way, the Congress definitively rejected the suggestions (frequently camouflaged) concerning changing the party's character that have been made from time to time since August 1980. It was a wise move on their part, since party unity--ideological, political and organizational--is ensured only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching.

From the perspective of several months, however, we are able to see that the Ninth Congress resolution has not brought about the envisaged strengthening of party unity and cohesiveness. Both the massive campaign of the political opposition and intraparty causes have affected this. The consolidation of the party and the purging of those who are ideologically opposed to it, careerists and demoralized persons, have been hastened significantly and have, produced results under martial law. The party is slowly being reborn; at the same time, it is becoming capable of implementing the Ninth Congress

resolutions. A resolution of the Seventh PZPR Plenum, which was held in February 1982, is playing a positive role in the party's rebirth process.

The more than 30-year history of the PZPR teaches us that one of the fundamental organizational principles of the Communist Party--democratic centralism as basic to its cohesiveness and effective action--may become bureaucratically perverted, leading to political crises. Given the frequency of this malady in the past in PZPR activity as a departure from the principles of socialism, the Ninth party Congress expressed the "steadfast will" that departures from these principles be eliminated in practice and "effective barriers be built against such departures in the future."<sup>8</sup>

The substantial changes made by the Ninth Congress in the PZPR Statute are to be an institutional guarantee of adherence to the norms and principles of democratic centralism. These norms link the considerably broadened scope of intraparty democracy with the preservation of the principles and characteristics of centralism indispensable to the Marxist-Leninist party.

The broadening of intraparty democracy is expressed in the creation of greater possibilities for the flow of demands, recommendations and opinions from party members and basic organizations to central party authorities, as well as in the greater input of the entire party in its program. The possibility is arising for requesting the verification "from the bottom" of resolutions that have already been passed but have been found to be unjust in practice. Party organizations who have informed the appropriate committees are now being allowed to cooperate for the purpose of exchanging experiences to prepare recommendations, opinions and concepts for enriching party activity.

The broadening of the scope of intraparty democracy in the PZPR Statute is important not only for intraparty life and activity, but also for the socialist democracy in the political and social sphere. There are numerous links between the internal democracy of the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist democracy that are not merely institutional in nature. They encompass the sphere of attitudes, civic behavior, the shaping of the political awareness and cultivation of the system of political norms, as well as of the values and principles of exercising authority. To speak of a democracy in the socialist state and political system in which the working class party exercises a leading role is pointless if the internal life of this party is not able to become a model for the implementation of democracy in the broadest social practice.<sup>9</sup>

I would like to draw three general conclusions, taking into account past interpretations of the constitutional treatment (article 3) of the party's role.

First, the realization and strengthening of the leading role of the PZPR in the mechanism of authority can take place only within the framework of the binding legal order. Hence the validity and noteworthiness of the statement made in the Ninth PZPR Congress resolution: "The Congress declares that the leading role of the PZPR in society and its leadership role in the

state should be realized within the framework of the strict observance of the binding laws."<sup>10</sup> Given the violation of this principle in PRL systemic practice, the clearcut statement that the law must be observed can have a very positive effect upon society's approval of the leading role of the party.

Second, operating within the framework of the law, which must bind all without exception, the PZPR will realize its leading role within the framework of the structures of the mechanism of authority, which it inspires and supervises.

Third, the constitutional statement should not be interpreted in terms of rights, but party obligations and responsibilities. This regulation should not be cited as a source of legitimizing the party's leading role: it should be read as an order to the party to constantly legitimize its leading role through various methods.

The experiences of recent months prove that the leading role of the party is not something of which society approves a priori and adopts uncritically. Thus, the party must always be aware that by its actions above all (although there are other ways) it should strive continually to renew its leading role, being especially concerned about the approval of the working class and the other classes and layers of working society.

In the system of socialist democracy that is developing in Poland, "the PZPR has an obligation to lead, not to manage through administrative means."<sup>11</sup> If we properly interpret the constitutional description of the party as a leading force in society in the building of socialism, this will help to solve the problem.

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In the exercise of its leading role, the party should be the guarantor and watchman of the implementation of the basic ideas and values of socialist ideology; it should serve as a base for nominating the leading political operatives at various levels and as an upbringing organization for party members.

The statements made in the Ninth Congress resolution concerning the strengthening of the working-class character of the PZPR show that the program formulated by the party for building socialism will be based on a scientific analysis of social reality. It likewise demonstrated that it will be specific regarding classes, expressing the needs, aspirations and interests of the working class and other classes and layers of working society. The intraparty mechanism set in motion in this process plays an important role in the party's development of such a program. It is also a question of how the bodies within the party decide upon the content of the program (the entire party, the broad aktiv or the leadership alone), and how they decide upon the method of its development--is it to be more or less democratic? The PZPR Statute passed by the Ninth Congress proposes a democratic procedure for formulating the party program and enables party members and party organizations to determine its content jointly.



In outlining a program of state activity, the PZPR is keeping in mind the other two political parties in Poland. By declaring its "partnerly cooperation" with these parties, the PZPR wishes to broaden the sphere of consultation and joint decision-making, to inspire the preparation of developmental programs by the ZSL and SD and to foster their initiatives and the formulation of proposals for solving the problems that are arising. When guidelines are given for building a program of socialism in the future, the elements making up the Front of National Accord may not be omitted. If we agree that this Front should continue the positive elements of the work of the FJN [Front of National Unity], eliminate its shortcomings and occupy a more significant role in the Polish political system, it follows that the FPN should become a forum for the coalescence and crystallization of views on the most vital State and national issues.

Nor should the role of representative organs, especially the Sejm, be bypassed when the program of state activity is established. The regulation in article 20 paragraph 3 that was introduced in the PRL constitution in 1976, granting the Sejm power to pass resolutions "outlining the basic directions of state activity" creates a situation that does not comply with basic law, since the highest representative organ will then fulfill a mere rubber-stamp role or that of a sort of legal bureau that passively gives legal sanction to decisions made by the party. It is in the forum of the highest national representative organ that not only the ultimate form but the content of strategic programs must be shaped in the course of genuine Sejm deputy discussion (and even some political battle)--programs that have been prepared earlier by the party in cooperation with the allied parties and other social organizations that are not opposed to socialism and approve the constitutional principles of the system. It is thanks to the legislative activity of the Sejm that the provisions of the party program and its resolutions become legalized and universally binding.

The preceding remarks apply likewise to people's councils. There also the process of "translating" party resolutions into the form of council resolutions should not be mechanical. It must be a creative process, enriching and even revising the directions of proposed solutions.

The Ninth PZPR Congress obliged the Central Committee to prepare a draft of those changes in the electoral law for representative bodies as would foster the "strengthening of the principles of the socialist system and the democratization of sociopolitical life."<sup>12</sup> I read this as the party's approval of those changes that make the nomination of candidates for deputies and councilors and their election more democratic and thus ensure that the principle of the party's leading role in representative organs will not be violated. The intraparty mechanism of nominating candidates for deputies and councilors from within the PZPR framework is of vital significance here. In the 1970's the practice arose of the preliminary selection of these candidates exclusively by the party executive apparatus. This was based upon instructions from the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat in 1971 and 1973. At present the PZPR Statute grants basic party organizations the right to submit preliminary proposals for candidates from within the

PZPR framework for representative organs. In the future, final decisions on these candidates should be made by electoral echelons or special party conferences. Similarly, the procedure for decision-making should use the new principles for party elections set down in the statute.

After August 1980, many people have rightly called for rationally limiting the scope of "nomenklatura" and for adopting principles making this institution open. I believe that the PZPR positions that are filled through the use of "nomenklatura" should be restricted to key positions from the viewpoint of the functioning of the mechanism of authority and the implementation of policy at various party levels. There must be strict observance of the statutory requirement concerning recommendations for the positions filled through "nomenklatura," after an opinion on a candidate is given by the basic parent party organization. There is an urgent need to implement the resolution announced at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum in February 1982, concerning the preparation of principles of clear and consistent party cadre policy.

The Ninth Congress stressed the importance of the party's political control of the activity of the state apparatus as one of the forms of realizing its leading role. The congress favored strengthening this control, which may be both direct and indirect. I believe that while the PZPR should not abandon the direct supervision of party members (obliged by party discipline to undertake activities to implement party policy) exercised not only by party leadership elements but also by their own parent POP [basic party organizations], it should initiate more often than formerly the operation of indirect forms of control of the activity of the state and economic administration through a representative bodies and various forms of self-government, particularly the workforce self-government.

The full utilization by representative organs, especially the Sejm, of the forms of control of the activity of the administration that are granted them by the constitution and laws are of crucial significance for the party. When the content of laws reflects and expresses the PZPR political line, the supervision of their implementation, the verification of the political and social consequences evoked by the operation of laws and a comparison of them with those planned by the party become very important issues. The party has various possibilities, in this regard, in its arsenal of methods used to exert political influence. This influence may be considerably strengthened through the activism of the parliament and people's councils. Social control is an essential element of the democratic mechanism of exercising state authority. It is likewise an important form of the citizen's participation in governing.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See M. F. Rakowski, "Rzeczpospolita na progu lat osiemdziesiątych" [The Republic at the Threshold of the 1980's] Warsaw 1981.

2. E. Erazmus, "Zamiast wstepu" [In Place of a Forward] in "Teoretyczne i praktyczne problemy przewodniej roli PZPR na tle sytuacji politycznej PRL [Theoretical and Practical Problems of the PZPR's Leading Role Against the Background of the Political Situation in the Polish People's Republic], Warsaw 1981 (WSNS [Higher School of Social Sciences] publication).
3. A Ninth Congress program resolution notes the existence of this sort of cause of the present crisis, calling it the "background" ("tlo").
4. E. Erazmus, "Problemy partii nowego typu" [Problems of the Party of the New Type] op. cit., p 35.
5. See J. Szczepanski, "Przedmowa" [Forward] in M. F. Rakoski, op. cit., pp 15 and 17.
6. TRYBUNA LUDU, 27-28 March 1982.
7. Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' party. Basic Documents and Materials, Warsaw 1981, p 106.
8. Ibid., p 107.
9. See a similar opinion given by W. Skrzydlo, "Partia w systemie demokracji socjalistycznej" [The Party in the System of Socialist Democracy] in "Istota i rozwoj form demokracji socjalistycznej" [The Essence and Development of Forms of Socialist Democracy], Warsaw 1976, p 146.
10. Ninth Extraordinary Congress, op. cit., p 115.
11. E. Erazmus, "Zamiast wstepu", op. cit., p 14.
12. Ninth Extraordinary Congress, op. cit., p 114 et al.

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## CIVIL DEFENSE ON MERCHANT SHIPS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 8, Aug 82 pp 31-32

[Article by Chief Engineer Piotr Szymanski: "Views--Discussions--Polemics [PDP], Civil Defense [CC] Problems on Polish Merchant Marine Ships"]

[Text] Civil defense has recently come into existence on our merchant ships; it therefore requires comprehensive analysis in order that it might be set up properly to handle problems arising therefrom. The problems, not unequivocally clarified to date, are the particulars of a ship as a place for work and rest for a definite number of people: Character of sea service, conditions and time of cruising, types of cruises, sea area, atmospheric conditions and the like. These are conditions that civil defense on land is not familiar with and therefore require keen consideration. Furthermore, civil defense on land carried with it a long tradition, inasmuch as its objectives were achieved, having begun in 1951; civil defense training was first started on merchant ships in 1979.

## Civil Defense [OC] Objectives and Tasks on Ships

In transferring civil defense objectives and tasks to ships, it can be said in all probability that the chief objective of civil defense on cruising ships of the Polish People's Republic is the maintenance of a ship's survivability. Survivability of a ship is its ability to stay afloat, despite damages resulting from the use of combat forces by the enemy, from damages incurred as a result of running aground or from underwater obstructions, or from collision with another cruising vessel. A vessel can incur damages to its hull, main engines, auxiliary mechanisms which guarantee the work of the main engines, or technological equipment. The ship's crew will then be exposed to contusions, partial injuries to the body or death.

Upon examining the survivability of a ship, we can demonstrate its component parts and then discuss its survivability: The hull, technological equipment, the crew.

Survivability of the hull determines its resistance to every possible type of penetration, its floating capacity and stability. A ship derives this survivability from adequate construction of the hull, bottom and double sides, partition of watertight compartments, durability, especially of dangerous connections. An essential factor in the survivability of a vessel's hull is the arrangement and extent of fireproofing and waterproofing systems, the arrangement and sealing of hatchways, gaps, hatches and every possible type of door.

Survivability of technological equipment (main engines, auxiliary mechanisms, generators, navigation, loading, mooring, refrigeration equipment and the like) is achieved by their proper arrangement, duplication, possible substitution, the smallest possible variety of producers (firms), simplicity in construction, reliability in performance, servicing repair and ease, resistance to shock and impact.

Survivability of the crew represents the most essential problem in a vessel's civil defense work. It is the ability and skill in preserving one's life under circumstances that can arise; the most economical use of energy in conjunction with model performance of duties through elimination of needless and erroneous functions (motions). The following factors serve to influence the high survivability of a ship's crew:

- a. Knowledge and skill in the utilization of defense forces against weapons of mass destruction, fire smoke, steam, water;
- b. skill in substituting for a friend and performing functions at one's own and another work station;
- c. skill in administering first aid to oneself and others;
- d. skill in working under difficult circumstances in smoke, steam, fire, water, low or high temperature, darkness, limited light;
- e. skill in mutual comprehension through gestures, signals, monosyllables and the like;
- f. skill in swimming and use of rescue measures;
- g. high organizational efficiency, good professional preparation, high morale;
- h. high feeling of responsibility for oneself and others.

Every vessel must be prepared organizationally and essentially for an eventual clash with the fighting forces of the enemy, which could cause damage to the hull, technological equipment, cause fire, flood compartments, contaminate the vessel or a portion thereof with radioactive materials, poisonous substances and casualties among the crew. Battle activities can arise suddenly and, therefore, the proper condition of the ship must be prepared adequately and the crew provided with adequate sources and equipment. The struggle for the survivability of the ship is a to be or not to be for the crew. Factors

influencing the effectiveness of the struggle for survivability of a ship are: Maximum utilization of time, initiative, discipline. The most dangerous factor in critical situations in panic, rational action contrary to logic and personal safety. On the other hand, thoughtful, logical and disciplined action provides enormous significance on the lot of the vessel's crew in everyday life, and in event of danger and war decides chances for survival. Inactivity intensifies fear; however, decisive organized and disciplined action reassures, mobilizes. People who are not prepared for conditions which can occur are susceptible to panic, as are people who do not know how the enemy's weapons work nor what protective measures to take against them. This implies the necessity for vessel crews to secure a knowledge during peacetime of the means and methods of maintaining vessel survivability during war time. In order to achieve this basic goal, civil defense performs the following tasks on vessels of the Polish Merchant Marine:

- a. It conducts training of the crews of all ships in general self-defense;
- b. it supplies crews with equipment and methods for individual defense.

On the basis of the instructions of the authorities civil defense ship groups [SGOC] are called upon to implement a basic training program. Vessels are systematically provided with equipment and methods of individual defense for the crew.

#### Civil Defense Organization on Ships

As it was already stated, organization of civil defense on ships should stem from its objectives and assignments, as well as from the characteristics of the ship and the crew's working circumstances. This is an intricate problem and commensurate with its implementation of assignments the Polish Merchant Marine Civil Defense must be systematically perfected as to contents, form and methods of teaching, as well as to didactic methods applied. We stand at the threshold and one should not overestimate the training which has been conducted, or the activities of the civil defense ship groups whose compulsory obligation is only too reminiscent of the institutional sector of the civil defense of enterprise. The number of teams and their tasks are not adequate, in my opinion, to assure a ship's survivability. The organization of teams has limited flexibility. It would suggest the creation of damage repair groups, as well as teams to recognize and suppress pollution. What is its source? Every member of the crew on watch at a precise specified post is obligated to strive for the survivability of the ship at that specific post with the aid of methods and materials prepared for that purpose and to the full extent of his personal capabilities. There are positions on the ship which require one person or several persons in which there is no one [balance of paragraph deleted in text].

Damage repair groups directly responsible to the second in command of the civil defense ship group, consisting of seamen with various specialties, would be used only in a struggle for a vessel's survival in compartments or quarters where there are no people, or an insufficient number to repair

the damage, quench the fire, seal up a rupture and the like. The commander of the civil defense ship group or his second in command, being familiar with the stable properties of the vessel, as well as the forces and methods will make decisions resulting from the immediate situation and direct the damage repair group or groups to the damages most serious to ship and crew. Every damage repair group should know how to extinguish a fire, seal the hull and pipelines, repair damaged technological instruments, switch and disengage systems, provide water and methods of work stations, remove water from flooded compartments, degas quarters. In the organization of the civil defense safety group one should strive for versatility so that in every difficult and fluctuating situation, the best decision can be undertaken in the use of forces and methods.

### Crew Training

Every didactic and educational system represents a vigorous, working structure, composed of such elements as: A training (teaching) cadre, an audience, topics of instruction and a didactic physical environment (didactic centers). A teaching cadre, maintaining an adequate predisposition, plays a guiding role in the instruction process.

I feel that we have people adequately prepared to conduct the schooling of crews. They are all graduates of Marine Institutes who have to their credit:

- a. Intermediate school education in the form of defense training;
- b. military training completed at Military College with the rank of officer upon completion of examinations.

In the framework of military training, sociopolitical knowledge is imparted to them within 50 hours, information on the struggle for a vessel's survivability within 45 hours and methodology of instruction within 15 hours. In the nature of instruction, this area is completely satisfactory to provide all graduates of military training at Marine Institutes with the qualifications of a civil defense instructor. I regard as purposeless the organization of training courses for instructors in civil defense on vessels as based on hitherto existing principles; after all, one cannot make civil defense instructors out of cooks, machinists, or sailors from the hotel department. Only instructor-methodical classes of several days duration on subjects closely related to the organization and work of civil defense vessel groups can be organized. This is a problem which requires a rapid solution. The time has passed when every person willing to work was accepted aboard ship. We already have a well-prepared cadre; however, we do not know how to use it. And the barrier is purely formal--lack of civil defense instructor qualifications. Organization, procedure and results of instructing civil defense ship groups depend on the ships' captain as commander of the civil defense ship group and his second in command (first officer), on their honesty, understanding of problems, expectations and decisive actions. Therefore, I also propose that subject matter dealing with civil defense on ships be introduced into military training in the framework of courses cultivating the captains of large and small crews; of course for first class mechanics organized

by Marine Institutes. The dual "information-consultation centers" at the chartering department of the Polish Merchant Marine [PMH] possesses neither the forces nor the resources to train instructors for civil defense on ships.

I realize that my voice in the columns of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ [Review of Civil Defense] might evoke a resonance among people acquainted with the problems of defense training on ships of the Polish Merchant Marine. All the better. The problem which I have raised requires deep analysis.

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FURTHER EXECUTORY REGULATIONS TO TEACHER'S CHARTER PUBLISHED

Teachers' Award Fund

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 28, 22 Aug 82 p 11

[Text] Directive from the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Dated 12 July 1982, on Defining the Principles for the Division of the Special Teachers' Award Fund

Based on art 49, para 2, of the law dated 26 Jan 82 - Teacher's Charter - (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette, No 3, item 19]), hereinafter called "Charter", it is directed as follows:

§ 1.1. A special awards fund is being created in the amount of one percent of the planned annual personnel fund of the wages of the teachers referred to in art 1, pts 1-7 of the Charter.

2. The special awards fund is designated for monetary awards given to teachers for their didactic, upbringing and protective achievements.

3. By didactic, upbringing and protective achievements, as referred to in para 2, it is understood also to mean organizational and academic achievements, and in relation to the teachers referred to in art 1, pts 6 and 7 of the Charter, also to special achievements in the performance of pedagogical supervision and the accomplishment of other tasks in behalf of the school, children and youth.

§ 2. The fund referred to in § 1, para 1, remains at the disposal of:

1. The Minister of Education and Upbringing, in the amount of 0.1 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund.

2. The Superintendent of Education and Upbringing, in the amount of 0.3 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund.

3. The Inspector of Education and Upbringing, the gmina school principal or other organ directly supervising the school, in the amount of 0.6 percent of the planned annual personnel wage fund.

§ 3. The organ directly supervising the school may transfer to the school principal, at his application, a portion of the funds remaining at his disposal, with the authority to grant awards to the teachers employed at this school.

§ 4.1. The Superintendents of Education and Upbringing will establish the rules for granting the special awards of the Superintendent of Education and Upbringing and will define the principles for granting awards by the organs directly supervising the schools, within the limits of the funds referred to in § 2, para 3.

2. The rules for granting awards within the limits of the funds referred to in § 3 will be determined by the school's pedagogical council.

3. The rule for granting the Minister of Education and Upbringing special awards are contained in the annex to the foregoing directive.

§ 5. The Minister of Education and Upbringing directive, dated 24 July 1974, on the detailed principles of granting awards to teachers (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, No 8, item 64, No 3, item 23, 1975, and No 2, item 14, 1976) is no longer in force.

§ 6. The directive goes into effect on the date of publication and is in force as of 1 August 1982.

Annex to the Directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Dated 12 July 1982

#### Rules for Granting Minister of Education and Upbringing Special Awards

1.1. The Minister of Education and Upbringing grants special awards to the teachers referred to in art 1, pts 1-7 of the Teacher's Charter.

2. The Minister of Education and Upbringing special awards are made in connection with National Education Day, in the form of monetary awards.

3. The amount of the individual award is established annually by the Minister of Education and Upbringing.

3.1. The proposal to grant awards to teachers paid out of the local budget is made by the Superintendent of Education and Upbringing, taking into consideration the opinions of the principals of the schools that are directly subordinate, or other organizational units employing teachers.

2. Proposals for individual awards to teachers paid out of the central budget or out of nonbudgetary funds, are made by the applicable ministers (central office directors) on recommendation of the territorially applicable Superintendents of Education and Upbringing.

3. In each case if the Minister of Education and Upbringing special award is not granted at the initiative of the applicable minister, the proposal to award it is subject to the recommendation of the pedagogical council (workers' group) of the school (or office employing the candidate for the award).

4. The following may be selected for a Minister of Education and Upbringing award;

a) highly meritorious teachers, who over a period of many years of exemplary pedagogical work have distinguished themselves by lasting, universally recognized, achievements.

b) teachers who in performing their duties excellently have recently, in particular, achieved distinguished results in didactic, upbringing, academic or organizational work.

5.1. Proposals to grant awards, together with their justification, in a given year, are sent to the Minister of Education and Upbringing by 20 July.

2. The proposal to grant an award should contain personal data on the person submitted for the award (full name, position occupied, place of employment, date of birth, education, degree of professional specialization, pedagogical work experience, past honors and distinctions) and grounds for the proposal. The grounds for the proposal should particularly contain:

--a description of all of the professional work and the nature and evaluation of the achievements,

--a description of the particular achievements on which the proposal is based.

6.1. The teacher granted a Minister of Education and Upbringing award receives a certificate, a copy of which is placed in his personnel file.

#### Teachers' Housing Allowance

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 29, 29 Aug 82 p 11

[Text] Directive from the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Dated 30 Jun 1982, on the Teachers' Housing Allowance

Based on art 54, par 5 of the law dated 26 Jan 82 - Teacher's Charter - hereinafter called "Charter", in consultation with the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, it is directed as follows:

#### § 1

The directive pertains to teachers employed on at least a half-time basis in schools located in all villages and towns numbering up to 5,000 inhabitants.

#### § 2

1. Local organs of State administration on the basic level, hereinafter called "administration organs", are obliged to ensure the teachers employed under the conditions described in art 54, par 1 of the Charter, rent-free dwellings in schools buildings, or buildings used by schools, or under the administration of those organs at their place of work, according to density norms no lower than those in effect and the average standard of housing for a given locality, and if this is not possible, then in another locality from which a daily commute to work is possible.

Local administration organs, should there be a lack of the housing referred to above, are obliged to conclude agreements on the rental of dwelling with owners of dwellings indicated by the teachers or proposed by these organs, after an expression of agreement by the teachers.

2. By the right to a rent-free dwelling, it is understood to mean that the teacher is exempted from paying the rental fee. However, payments for use of equipment in the building or on the premises (central heating, central air, elevator, common antenna, etc.) are the teacher's responsibility.

3. The housing allowance is granted when the administration organ is not able to provide the authorized teacher with a rent-free dwelling in accordance with the principles contained in para 1, or when the teacher is not taking advantage of the rent-free dwelling to which he is entitled because, among other reasons, he is occupying a cooperative dwelling, a dwelling connected with a spouse's workplace (family member), is living with his parents or in-laws, is the owner (or co-owner) of a house or apartment located at his place of employment or at a distance permitting a daily commute to work.

4. The housing allowance is granted by the organ which has direct supervision over the school in which the teacher is employed.

5. A teacher who is a pensioner or annuitant, who is benefiting from the right to a rent-free dwelling on the basis of art 54, par 6 of the Charter, has the right to a housing allowance if:

--while in active service up to the time he began to draw an annuity or a disability pension he collected a housing allowance;

--after he began to draw an annuity or a disability pension he vacated a functional dwelling rented by the local administration organ.

The housing allowance is paid only when its equivalent, at the distinct wish of the involved person, was not included in the base on which the annuity or disability pension was calculated.

### § 3

1. The amount of monthly housing allowance to which the teacher is entitled according to § 2, according to family status, is:

- |                                       |              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1) for a teacher (single)             | 600 zlotys   |
| 2) for a two-member family            | 800 zlotys   |
| 3) for a three-member family          | 1,000 zlotys |
| 4) for a four-member family and above | 1,200 zlotys |

2. The provisions of par 1 do not infringe on specific provisions regulating the entitlement of higher-school graduates to a housing allowance.

3. A teacher and his teacher-spouse residing jointly are entitled to one housing allowance in the applicable amount specified in par 1.

4. Counted in a teacher's family status are a jointly residing spouse and children and jointly residing parents who are dependent upon him for support.

5. Entitlement to a housing allowance begins on the first day of the month in which the teacher submitted a request for award of the allowance.

#### § 4

The teachers named in § 2 are also entitled to a housing allowance during:

- 1) paid vacation,
- 2) regular military service, or as a substitute obligation, temporary military service, or military training or military exercises--however, in the case that a work agreement was entered into for a specified period with a teacher called to active military service, the housing allowance is paid for a period no longer than that specified in the agreement,
- 3) an upbringing leave taken by the teacher under provisions of separate regulations,
- 4) other unpaid leaves or leaves from work granted to teachers on the basis of separate regulations, if these regulations provide that the right to a rent-free dwelling or a housing allowance is retained.

#### § 5

Teachers who built a house with the help of a bank loan and during the period of repayment of this loan collected or continue to collect a monetary equivalent awarded on the basis of separate regulations, are not entitled to a housing allowance. ✓

#### § 6

1. The housing allowance is paid out of funds of the planned personnel wage fund by the individual paying the salaries of the teachers entitled to the allowance.
2. In the case where teachers-annuitants retaining the right to a housing allowance change their place of residence, the housing allowance, at their application, can be paid by the organ exercising supervision over the schools in the place where the teacher-annuitant resides. The basis for making the payment should be a decision made by the organ employing the teacher at the time he retires.

#### § 7

1. Administration organs who are unable to provide teachers with housing where the school is located and pay rent or a housing allowance for them to live elsewhere, are obliged to cover the actual costs of the teacher's commute to work and from work home by the cheapest means of public transportation.
- ✓ 2. Performance of the obligation described in para 1 should take place in the form of a refund of the cost of a monthly workers' railroad ticket in second class in a passenger train or the cost of a commutation bus ticket.
3. The teacher is entitled to a refund of commute costs in the months during which he traveled to the school and it was necessary to purchase commutation tickets.

The cost of a commutation ticket is fully refunded also for those months in which teaching in the school takes place for only part of the month.

4. The refund of commute costs to school should take place in advance in monthly periods.

#### § 8

The provisions of section 11 of the Minister of Education and Upbringing directive dated 2 July 1973 on executory regulations pertaining to the rights, duties and salaries of teachers (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, No 12, item 100 with subsequent changes) are no longer in force.

#### § 9

The directive goes into effect on the date of publication.

#### Teacher Evaluations

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 30, 5 Sep 82 p 11

[Text] Decree from the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Dated 29 July 1982, on Teacher Evaluations

✓ Based on art 6, para 2 of the law dated 26 January 1982 - Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], No 3, item 19) it is directed as follows:

#### § 1

Teacher evaluations are made by the organ which has direct supervision over the school in which the teacher is employed.

#### § 2

1. Teacher evaluations are made after obtaining the opinions of the group made up of: the school principal, a methodology teacher or a teacher of the same or related specialty, and a representative of the trade union and pedagogical council. This opinion is not required in evaluating the work of the school principal.

2. In addition, the opinion-consultative group is made up of:

1) the school shop director (the director of practical schooling) or school management - in giving an opinion on the work of a practical vocational science teacher,

✓ 2) the director of the boarding-school (dormitory) or the school clubroom, in giving an opinion on the teacher-upbringer in this center,

3. the group giving an opinion on the work of the methodology teacher or a problem methodology inspector is composed of the director, or his authorized representative, of the local teacher training center (ministerial center of teacher training), the

✓ school principal in which the teacher is employed, and a trade union representative,

4. The group prepares an opinion after giving the teacher a hearing.

### § 3

✓ 1. The basis for the teacher evaluation is the accomplishment of tasks specified in art 6, para. 1 and art 7 of the law dated 26 January 1982 - Teacher's Charter, the school's statutory tasks, and didactic-upbringing and protective achievements, taking into consideration the opinion referred to in § 2 and the entries made in school documentation by the teachers exercising pedagogical supervision.

2. In evaluating the work of a defense training teacher, consideration should be given to the opinions of military organs conducting defense training inspection.

### § 4

In formulating an opinion on the teacher's work, the group reviews work in the subject taught by the teacher, analyzes the participation of pupils in contests, parades, and competitions organized for pupils and the results of enrollment in schools above the elementary level or higher schools. The group may make a study of didactic results and conduct inspections of lessons.

### § 5

The evaluation is entered on the "Teacher Professional Evaluation Form" which is kept in the teacher's personnel file. An example of the "Teacher Professional Evaluation Form" will be described separately.

### § 6

Should a request be submitted for a teacher evaluation, the applicable organ is obliged to make it within one year of the date of submission of the request.

### § 7

The directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, dated 30 August 1980, on teacher professional evaluation (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, No 9, item 64) is no longer in force.

### § 8

The decree is effective as of 1 September 1982.

Directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Dated 16 July 1982 (No EO-Z2-1002-14-Cz/82) on Paying a Teacher for Didactic-Upbringing or Protective-Upbringing Duties Performed on Days Off From Work

✓ Based on art 44, para 7 of the law dated 26 January 1982 - Teacher's Charter, hereinafter called "Charter" (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], No 3, item 19) directs as follows:

## § 1

Under the stipulations ensuing from the provisions of § 2:

1) teachers who, on their day off from work, perform scheduled didactic-upbringing duties in schools which are open every day of the week, receive in return:

a) another day off from work, or

b) in particularly warranted cases, instead of a day off, separate pay, but not exceeding 4 hours of overtime;

2) teachers in schools not mentioned in pt 1, who, on their day off from work, perform scheduled didactic-upbringing duties, or properly organized and documented upbringing duties aimed at useful management of children's and youth's free time, receive in return:

a) another day off from work, or

b) in particularly warranted cases, instead of a day off, separate pay, but not exceeding 4 hours of overtime;

3) teachers in extraschool upbringing centers, who on their day off from work perform properly organized and documented didactic-upbringing duties, receive in return another day off from work.

## § 2

The teachers referred to in § 1:

✓ 1) are obliged to perform their required number of weekly hours of didactic-upbringing duties and the work and duties referred to in art 42, para 4 of the Charter outside of their days off from work, with appropriate application of regulations on excused failure to perform duties and excused absence from work;

2) receive for duties on days off another day off from work, or, in particularly warranted cases, separate pay if the day off is the sixth day of work.

## § 3

The provisions of § 1 do not pertain to teachers in correspondence schools.

## § 4

Teachers who have been assigned management functions, exercising in schools, on days off from work, supervision over didactic-upbringing and protective-upbringing duties, are not entitled to separate pay as a result of this.

## § 5

The directive becomes effective on the day of publication, and is in force as of 1 September 1982.



## Additional Teacher Duties

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish No 31, 12 Sep 82 p 11

[Text] Directive From the Minister of Education and Upbringing, Dated 20 July 1982 on Teacher's Didactic-Upbringing Work and Duties Performed Within the Limits of the Basic Salary and Additional Pay

✓ Based on art 42, para 5 of the law dated 26 January 1982 - Teacher's Charter (DZIENNIK USTAW [Legal Gazette], No 3, item 19) it is directed as follows:

### § 1

The teacher (educator) in addition to conducting didactic-upbringing and protective duties in the required number of weekly hours within the limits of the basic salary to which he is entitled, is obliged to perform work connected directly with the organization of the didactic-upbringing process, and, in particular, to:

- 1) prepare, in writing, for every period (semester) of the school year, a schedule of the material assigned in the mandatory teaching and upbringing program for a given subject in order to implement it rhythmically,
- 2) suitably prepare himself to conduct every form of didactic, upbringing and protective duty, and during the period up to the first evaluation, prepare written summaries of lesson outlines,
- 3) advise pupils individually and collectively and give them work to prepare themselves for subject examinations, contests and competitions,
- 4) conduct class-workshops or subject-workshops and show appropriate concern for the school equipment, didactic means, and equipment and material entrusted to him, necessary for teaching the subject and performing other upbringing and protective duties,
- 5) cooperate with the class educators,
- 6) have charge over the student self-government and cooperate with the youth organizations functioning on the school premises,
- 7) work with the parents (guardians) and the student-upbringing community,
- 8) conduct preventive-resocialization work with students who are socially threatened or unadapted,
- 9) conduct vocational orientation for students within the limits specified by the subject taught,
- 10) organizing and conducting socially useful work in behalf of the school and the community with the students in the class assigned to him,

- 11) care for the safety, hygiene and health of students (wards) during didactic-upbringing and protective duties conducted in the school and outside the school,
- 12) actively participate in the work of the pedagogical council and its commissions,
- 13) document the work connected with the implementation of didactic-upbringing or upbringing-protective tasks, as provided for in separate regulations.

## § 2

Didactic-upbringing duties subject to additional pay are:

- 1) upbringing of the class,
- 2) conduct of special-interest and special-subject clubs (groups),
- 3) work with students who are fulfilling a school obligation in an elementary school and are eligible for special education,
- 4) upbringing care during school outings and during events and competitions organized on the teacher's days off from work,
- 5) analysis and evaluation of students' work and lessons in the Polish language, starting with the fourth grade of elementary school, in order to increase the skill and raise the level of education in the native language,
- 6) exercise of control and supervision over the practical vocational work of students in schools for the unemployed and juveniles in workplaces,
- 7) organization and conduct of professional practices of permanent auditors of teacher training institutions,
- 8) fulfillment by the teacher of the duty of industrial safety and hygiene fire prevention technician in vocational schools,
- 9) coordination on a schoolwide scale of activities in the area of prevention and resocialization in schools numbering over 400 students (with the exception of special schools and resocialization centers), in which a school educator is not employed,
- 10) organization and coordination on a schoolwide scale of work connected with vocational orientation in elementary and secondary schools and in special elementary schools numbering at least 400 students, in which a school educator is not employed,
- 11) organization, coordination and supervision of pedagogical practices in teacher training institutions, which are not higher schools,
- 12) conduct of examinations outside the school and evaluation of certificate work in professional subjects,
- 13) management of the school arms storeroom.

§ 3

1. The didactic-upbringing duties mentioned in § 2, pts 2, 3, 8, 9 and 10, are approved for the given school year by the organ supervising the school in order to assure the appropriate funds for these purposes.
2. The teacher performing additional didactic-upbringing duties is obliged to document these duties.

§ 4

The principles of payment for additional duties are defined in separate regulations.

§ 5

Past regulations which conflict with the foregoing directive, are no longer valid. In particular, these include:

- 1) §§ 60, 63 and 120, pts 2, 6, 7 and 8 of the directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, dated 2 July 1973 on executory regulations pertaining to the rights, duties and salaries of teachers (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, No 12, item 100, with subsequent changes).
- ✓ 2) § 2, para 3, of the directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, dated 10 July 1981, on activities of upbringing-vocational schools and guidance offices in the field of vocational orientation and guidance and the principles of assigning teachers the additional duty of organizer of vocational orientation (OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, No 6, item 44).

§ 6

The directive is effective as of the date of publication, and is in force as of 1 September 1982, with the exception of § 1, pt 5 and pt 2, which go into effect on 1 January 1983.

Directive From the Minister of Education and Upbringing, dated 30 July 1982, on the Allocation of Additional Living Space to Teachers

Based on art 57 of the law dated 26 January 1982, Teacher's Charter, hereinafter called "Charter", in consultation with the Minister of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection, it is directed as follows:

§ 1. Teachers, educators, and other pedagogical workers, hereinafter called "teachers", employed on the basis of an appointment or agreement for work for an indefinite time in the schools and centers referred to in art 1 of the Charter, are authorized additional living space in the form of an additional room.

§ 2.1 The organ supervising the school, at the request of the interested party, issues an affidavit attesting to the teacher's right to additional living space in the form of an additional room, according to the example contained in the annex to the directive. This organ records the affidavit issued by it.

2. The affidavit referred to in para 1 constitutes the basis on which the organ which has the housing can allocate the teacher additional living space.

§ 3. The additional living space is a separate room which the teacher may occupy in addition to the living space to which he is entitled on the basis of overall housing density norms.

§ 4.1. In the case where more than one person, of persons living jointly, is entitled to additional living space for the same reason, the entitlement to additional living space may accrue to one of the entitled persons.

2. The principle established in para 1 is not binding if the entitled persons perform work of a different type, which does not permit them to use the same room for this work at the same time, or if the granting of entitlement occurred for different reasons.

§ 5.1. The teacher loses the right to utilize the additional living space at the time the work relationship is terminated.

2. The teacher retains the right to the additional living space after he begins to draw an annuity or pension.

§ 6. The directive of the Minister of Education and Upbringing, dated 7 July 1972, on the principles and procedures for allocating additional living space to teachers (MONITOR POLSKI, No 38, item 210) is no longer in force.

§ 7. The directive goes into effect on the date of publication.

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ACTIVITY OF SOCIETY FOR DEFENSE KNOWLEDGE DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 8, Aug 82 pp 9-11

[Interview with Mikolaj Plikus, chairman of TWO [Society for Defense Knowledge] Directorate, by Stanislaw Zimnicki: "TWO in the Service of the Defense Education of Society"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] The duty of all organs of state power administration, institutions and enterprises, cooperative and social organizations, as well as of every citizen is to strengthen the defense of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. The tasks resulting from this duty which was imposed by a statute of the Sejm of the PRL are efficiently carried out, within a defined scope, by the Society for Defense Knowledge. The activity of this organization is discussed here with the chairman of the Directorate of TWO, a member of the editorial board of PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ [Civil Defense Review], Col (academy graduate) Mikolaj Plikus.

[Question] The celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Society for Defense Knowledge are an excellent opportunity to acquaint large numbers of our magazine's readers with its activity. Let us perhaps begin by recalling the political and social circumstances which accompanied the foundation of TWO and its further development.

[Answer] The undesirable development of the military and political situation in the world and the increase of the security threat to our country that is associated with it required and continue to require particularly during martial law, the taking of particular defense measures. One of them is the defense education of society that needed to become widespread, because defense has become a national necessity, and the system of state defense has become paramount in relation to other existing systems. A widespread defense education of society was undertaken by government circles and social organizations appropriately prepared for it, including the Society for Defense Knowledge, which was formed in 1972. Such a solution allowed for the education of millions of citizens without enlarging the administrative system.

[Question] TWO was therefore created by necessity and by the concern of the people's state in regard to its citizens. Didn't the Circles of Military Knowledge that existed from 1960 to 1972 fulfill the functions which were turned over to the Society?

[Answer] Only partly and in a very narrow scope. The Circles of Military Knowledge were active above all in the military community. They were not a social organization. The Society for Defense Knowledge, whose creation was ordered by the Council of Ministers, undertook the broad task of defense education of various vocational and social circles. This also gave a chance for career officers and Polish People's Army reservists to participate actively in a social way in the realization of the goal of strengthening the country's defense.

[Question] What major undertakings were implemented in the initial period of TWO activity?

[Answer] First of all it has to be said that the beginnings were not easy. It was a period of searching and experiments, in which the foundations for further qualitative development of the Society were laid. Among the most important organizational achievements of that period I would include: the creation of 107 area branches; the verification of lecturers; the working out and implementation of the basic assumptions on lecturing and a new publishing concept; organizing at the Main Center for Training of Civil Defense Cadres a course in instruction and methodology for the chairpersons of the provincial directorates and a similar course for a group of TWO lecturers; improving the forms of cooperation of the Society with administrative authorities and social and defense organizations; and preparation of the statute and the program of action.

[Question] The leadership cadre and rank and file members of the civil defense formations and elements on all levels express great appreciation for your publications.

[Answer] It gives us a great satisfaction. We pay a lot of attention to the publishing activity, because it is the basic form for achieving our statute goals. In the past decade we have published 114 items in various fields. Among these, works have appeared on the following subjects: legal basis of the defense system of the PRL; nature and tasks of OC [Civil Defense]; aid to the victims in the OC system; protection of work enterprises in the OC system; protection of rural environment from contamination; the means of air attack from the NATO countries; nuclear weapons. We have published 20 subject sets of instructional slides. On the basis of local opinion we can say that works on the following topics are particularly popular: defense effort of the Polish nation in World War II; history and military tradition of the Polish People's Army; protection of rural environment from contamination; and the basic armament of the ground forces of the Polish People's Army.

[Question] WIEDZA OBRONNA [Defense Knowledge], published by TWO, is becoming increasingly popular in OC formations. It is a source of diversified, valuable information not only for TWO lecturers but also for OC and OHP [Voluntary Labor Brigades], instructors in the college military departments....

[Answer] Such were our assumptions in this respect. In our bi-monthly we write about defense in general, civil defense, military technology, military art, the history of military science and the like. We are working on improving its usefulness.

[Question] The lecturing activity of TWO also gave great support to the instructional and propaganda form of civil defense.

[Answer] The lecturing activity of the Society supplements its publishing activity. It includes production plants, services enterprises and social institutions and organizations. In the last ten years TWO lecturers gave almost 70,000 lectures to about 3 million listeners from various groups. I wish to emphasize that the audiences included members of civil defense formations, Circles of Reserve Officers, and Union of Former Professional Soldiers, employees of various institutions and production plants, and also youths. More than half of the lectures were devoted to civil defense problems. One should note that the lectures are of high quality and are always met with great interest from the audience.

[Question] TWO is ending its first decade with fine achievements. What is it based on?

[Answer] It is the result of great involvement and social dedication on the part of the lecturers, authors, members of the Society's leadership on all levels; it is the result of a positive attitude toward the Society's activity and the support of its undertakings through various forms by the Central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense, and in particular the General Staff; the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army; the Inspectorate of the Territorial Defense, the Inspectorate of the National Civil Defense; it is the result of the support of the Society's activity by the commands of the military districts and branches of the armed forces and the commands of the academies and higher officers' schools.

[Question] Officers and employees of the inspectorates of civil defense and the commands of OC formations can certainly be found in the ranks of the TWO aktiv?

[Answer] Of course. A large number of officers and employees of these institutions have been elected to the leadership of the Society on various levels; they also make up a large group of lecturers. I wish to emphasize that on the occasion of our anniversary the most honored activists, including the "veterans" of the Circles of Military Knowledge--mainly those who remained faithful to us--were decorated with a recently established medal "For contributions to the Society for Defense Knowledge."

[Question] In conclusion I would like to ask the stereotype question: What are the Society's intentions in the very near future?

[Answer] I would say that the most important ones are the following: to work out a unified organizational structure of the Society on the voivodship level; to conduct conferences of the regional aktiv; to prepare and conduct voivodship congresses and the second National Congress; to begin publishing in 1983 TWO's "Little Library of Popular Science" in the form of single-subject and multi-subject volumes, which would be intended for sale in "Ruch" kiosks and bookstores; to start the production of slides on topics corresponding with the new program of defense training in schools.

We intend to adapt better and design of the bimonthly WIEDZA OBRONNA [WO] to the set of problems which we present to our readers and, as specified in the "Program and Principles of Action of TWO," to expand WO with a "compendium of military science." We want to engage to a larger degree the cooperation of OC instructors, teachers of defense training, lecturers in the college military departments and the like, in the publishing field. And to continue developing lecturing activity.

[Question] On the occasion of the anniversary we congratulate you on the fine results and wish the Society further fruitful activity in behalf of defense education of our society. We thank you for decorating our editorial board with the medal "For contributions to the Society for Defense Knowledge" and for the interesting interview.

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GORZOW AREA PARTY MEETINGS NOTED

Plenum With CC Secretary Marian Wozniak

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 4-5-6 Jun 82 pp 1, 2, 3

[Article by Jerzy Mischke and Zenon Wesolek: "A New Economic Mechanism-- System Reform, Thinking Reform"]

[Text] The plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee deliberated in Gorzow with the participation of Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

"Society lives with the hope of reform. The entire party lives with the complex problems of the economy. However, this is not enough. Reform has to be worked on and the party must take part in solving the problems brought on by the crisis. Every member of the party must participate in this undertaking." With these words, Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, began yesterday's [3 June 1982] plenum of the Voivodship Committee in Gorzow. The topic of deliberations was the tasks of echelons and of party organizations in overcoming the crisis and in implementing economic reform.

The following, among others, took part in the deliberations: Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Col Edmund Kubiak, plenipotentiary of KOK [National Defense Committee].

After approving the order of the day, those gathered listened to a report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board given by Henryk Piekarski, secretary of the Voivodship Committee.

Here are the most important parts of this comprehensive report:

After extensive discussion in the entire party, the Ninth PZPR Congress defined the sources and nature of the politicoeconomic crisis. The congress recognized the following as necessary: the carrying out of structural and systemic changes in the national economy while stressing that an essential condition for the success of the program of overcoming the crisis is the implementation of the reform.

Unfortunately, not everyone has implemented and is implementing the resolution with the same fervor that typified the preCongress discussion. It should also be remembered here that as early as the day following the Congress, the party encountered definite resistance in the implementation of its programs from those political forces which sought economic catastrophe as the most effective way of fighting the authorities and dismantling the socialist system. Despite warnings from the party and words from the Sejm that we would defend socialism just as we would independence, the attacks of these forces on all constructive moves made by the authorities did not cease.

The introduction of martial law opened the way for the normalization of economic life, made it possible to undertake effective anticrisis measures and hastened legislative work.

Today, however, the main impediments to the growth of production are problems with supplies of raw and technical materials. This situation seriously restricts the use of production capabilities to their full advantage in industry. Our import potential has dropped drastically particularly from the II payments area [capitalist countries].

One of the ways to overcome these difficulties is through improved and more efficient use of domestic raw materials. Things are still not going well in this area and it is high time for definite changes to take place.

There exist possibilities in every plant for reducing our dependence on free foreign-exchange imports. They only have to be looked for effectively. For example, such possibilities are being developed in the CHEMITEX-STILON Chemical Textile Plants where plans to buy expensive ingredients for the preparation of textiles were abandoned in favor of domestic ingredients--this, of course, entailed some appropriate technological adjustments. Similar action is being undertaken in the GOMAD Barlinek Lumber Industry Works and in other establishments.

In our circumstances, it is particularly important that we continue to strengthen economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries, which, as partners supplying us with raw materials, ensure the functioning of many of our factories. Slubice KOMEX Clothing Works, among others, is taking advantage of this form of cooperation.

However, the most important condition for restoring lasting economic balance and efficient management is the consistent implementation of economic reform.

Five months have passed from the start of the introduction of the reform into daily life. It is, therefore, worth reflecting on how this time has been used in the economy of Gorzow and to answer the questions: "What have we achieved, where do we stand and what interferes with the process of reforming the economy?"

The wealth of material prepared at the plenum does not provide a univocal answer. This is consistent with the state of affairs because reform matters

are treated differently in different enterprises. In a decided majority of plants, teams for reform matters were appointed back in 1981. Next to those that work systematically (for example, BOMET Ship Equipment Works, STILON Chemical Textile Works, KORAL Knitwear Industry Works), there are also those that function sporadically.

There is a general consensus that knowledge of the reform principles is, unfortunately, still very limited. This pertains both to the middle technical cadre and in general to the workers who are directly involved in production.

In most divisions, following changes in producer prices, there exist possibilities of making decisions on the basis of proper cost effectiveness. A reduction in passive coproduction can be observed since enterprises are taking it upon themselves to produce many elements which until now were commissioned off to distant plants for manufacturing. As a result, savings on transport costs are evident.

Of course, all of this does not mean that the process of implementing the reform is continuing smoothly. We have increasingly more supporters of the reform today but its perils are also growing. How, for example, does the matter of organizing associations look in practice? The entire initiative in this regard has been taken over by the currently existing associations and by ministers' plenipotentiaries who formerly most often fulfilled the function of association managers. If in addition to this, we take into account the fact that supply warehouses do not accept orders without the stamp of the plenipotentiary, then the entire mechanism of "voluntary" forming of associations by enterprises on the basis of the existing associations becomes clear.

Enterprises still continue to frequently demand executive orders in the form of orders, instructions, etc. We do not know what this results from--whether from the old habit of receiving assurances or from the lack of courage to make independent decisions. One thing is certain, that this is not in keeping with the spirit of reform.

Currently, production enterprises are at the stage of negotiating credit agreements. From information obtained at the voivodship branch [OW] of the NBP [Polish National Bank], it appears that in general the financial situation of industrial, commercial and small-scale industry enterprises is good. However, it is not so good in construction enterprises and on State Farms [PGR].

One of the most widely discussed problems today is the motivational function of wages. From the mid-70's, the ratio between increased labor productivity and wage increases has been systematically disturbed. This led to the complete severance of bonds between wages and production results, consequently leading to inflation. However, it should be stated objectively that at present the weakest point of the reform which is being introduced is the nonadaptation of the system of wages to the new principles of enterprise functioning. The system is too developed, vague and has improper proportions between the invariable and variable part of wages.

The solutions accepted in the assumptions of the reform require a totally new and different look at cadre policy.

The discussion on the points of the report or rather the presentation of one's own thoughts on the perils facing the new system of economic functioning was initiated by Stanislaw Urban (first secretary of the KZ [Plant Committee] at the STILON Chemical Textile Works). The following took part in the discussion in the following order: Michal Paszkowski (Kostazyn Paper Mills), Bronislaw Baginski (BOMET Barlinek Ship Equipment Works), Benedykt Wisniewski (Gorzyn Housing Cooperative), Stanislaw Tomaszewicz (first secretary of the KM [City Committee] in Gorzow), Czeslaw Zawidzki (OWPTE [Voivodship Branch of the Polish Economic Society]), Michal Machnikowski (GOMAD Barlinek Lumber Industry Works), Tadeusz Nowak (Drzensko Agricultural Enterprise), Piotr Mackiewicz (OW NBP), Mieczyslaw Malitowicz (TNOiK [Scientific Society of Organization and Administration]), Jerzy Szmyt (OW NOT [Voivodship Branch of the Chief Technical Organization]), Piotr Slepowski (UW [University of Warsaw]), Zenon Jur (NBP in Slubice), and vice governor Florian Marcinczyk.

Out of necessity, we will make a selection of the points discussed and relay the course of discussion in brief.

The problem which unquestionably gave rise to the most controversy and also, in precise terms--drew the most critical remarks is the system of emoluments. This is a system which does not, at all, fit in with the thus-far-approved principles of economic reform. The elaboration of a new incentive system is, in the opinion of many who took part in the discussion, the most pressing task.

In many industries today, wages make up a significant part of costs. If we do not restore them to health, then we should not count on increased productivity or even dream about cost-effectiveness-compatible negotiations with every buyer, without exception, whether foreign or domestic.

There was discussion at yesterday's plenum about successive attempts of giving more flexibility to official prices, for example. However, it appears that this is an extremely delicate issue and it always has to be considered while bearing in mind the public's endurance of price changes.

However, the endurance of the economy should be kept in mind, above all. At least several speakers presented doubtless documented proof of how healthy Sejm acts are "broken" by ordinances and standards from lower levels. Among other things, rather precise examples were presented of the ways in which independent enterprises are once again being forced into the cloak of various dependencies.

The standstill of undertakings for the reconstruction of the central level of management is currently most likely caused by the fact that most decisions on a national scale have an interventionist character and the situation, it is true, compels such action. However, at the same time, the longer the interventionist style of management maintains itself, the smaller the chances for the future. Common examples of such situations are operational programs or rather

what is happening to them. The programs are becoming distended and the list of the executors of these operational decisions is constantly growing longer while the amount of raw and other materials which most often cause the popularity of these programs is not growing.

The tendency of creating voluntary associations has also assumed dangerous proportions. If these were organizations created for a particular purpose, for the achievement of definite interests then the interpretation of this phenomenon would have to be different. Unfortunately, the associations are more and more frequently taking on the form of the hitherto existing associations. There is absolutely no talk of entering into immediate bi- or multilateral agreements between enterprises. For the time being, the associations are rather "specializing" in mediation and in administrative functions. This phenomenon should not be disregarded.

There exists an enormous discrepancy between the view of economic reality presented by representatives of work establishments and the bank's assessment of the situation. There is no need to strain oneself to see the not at all subtle differences in the evaluation of the work done by builders, for example. Perhaps these statements are too severe but the times are such that we should learn to have more faith in the accuracy of the bank's perception than in that which we would like to see, no matter how perspicacious it may be.

The only chance for the Polish economy and our only chance lies in the protection of the complex and critical character of the reform. This responsibility falls on every sensible Pole and the party has taken this responsibility upon itself. This truth was stressed repeatedly in the course of yesterday's deliberations. The breaking of habits and deceptive or downright ruinous practices is a long-term process. In this activity, quite a sizeable role is to be played by workers self-governments whose incorporation into the mainstream of socioeconomic life is indispensable in the opinion of the Voivodship Committee members in Gorzow. Continued energetic activity in the area of disseminating the principles of the reform was also declared by the heads of the voivodship boards of the PTE [Polish Economic Society], NOT and TNOiK.

Marian Wozniak, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took the floor. This was, so to say, a summing up statement of the discussion.

The Central Committee secretary began by sharing his thoughts in regard to the course of the discussion. He stated that many relevant, true and strong comments and opinions were made which should not be made light of or disputed. "I believe," he said, "that we find ourselves at the stage--after a series of plenary deliberations of voivodship committees--where we should begin to fight for the reform in enterprises.

"We should be very precise in that which we express publicly. It was stated here that production is continuing to drop. Thus, in reality production is not dropping but it is true that it is not reaching the level which we noted at the same time last year. Therefore, the question may arise, 'When will we finally reach last year's level in the area of production?' Even economists are unable to answer this question.

"There are those comrades who are very well informed about economic matters but who--and this took place here in this hall as well--present an over-economized understanding of the reform which, in effect, does not help matters. Furthermore, economists are unable to tell us where the public's endurance stops. Without taking this into account, they too quite often present us with a litany of economic wishes. It is during such moments that the dilemma outlines itself of when to unite the economy with its social function.

"Because the reform is a process, continued Marian Wozniak, "it is necessary to conduct this process in such a way that it proves to be effective. It is our political task to perfect the mechanism and to implement the reform. On the other hand, however, we must create a climate for the social acceptance of the reform. I would reduce the general assumptions of the new system to the following three:

"--the understanding that every worker must earn his wages. Let the worst establishments go bankrupt, let their workforces find themselves living off the Vocational Activation Fund [FAZ] and let them feel ashamed that they were unable to work better;

"--participation of society in co-managing the country;

"--the role of the state in the implementation of the reform. In this case, the state is to be a protector but it must also have the capacity to interfere in this matter.

"Of particular importance in the matter of implementing the reform during the current year is listening to the opinions and comments which come from all levels." The Central Committee secretary agreed with those who spoke critically about the structure of management. "The inertia of these structures," he said, "is terrifying."

The following topic to be discussed was the matter of the wage system and compensating the least affluent families for the effects of price increase. "We must convince the public that it is first necessary to earn money for this system because how long can concessionary solutions be used? It is necessary to reform the system of wages in such a way that every worker would feel and know that wages are related solely and exclusively to work.

"Costs and profitability. This mechanism functioned in such a way that instead of a reduction in production costs we have price increases. This is what should be said here: the methods of cost reduction which are coded in the instruments of the reform are too weak and they should be quickly improved. And you comrades should know best what and how should be changed or improved in your work establishments. We are waiting for suggestions."

In conclusion, the speaker brought up the subject of national councils, their self-dependence and self-financing as well as their full responsibility for what is happening in their own regions. He concluded with the statement that the success of the reform would be determined by enterprises.

In ending this point of the agenda, Florian Ratajczak once again emphasized the consistency of the party which initiated a series of undertakings as early as last year for the reconstruction of the system of management in the economy. "The party must also," said the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, "bring the reform to its completion. It must also stand up to the indifference of supporters of certain groups of people, whose numbers have fortunately diminished, who try to undermine concerted social efforts with passiveness."

Next, Leszek Gocwinski, secretary of the Voivodship Committee informed those gathered about the work of the Voivodship Committee's Secretariat and Executive Board during the period between the previous and yesterday's plenum. He also presented a proposal for cadre changes. The Voivodship Committee members unanimously approved the candidacy of Miroslaw Sopalak for the position of manager of the Administrative Department and that of Rajmund Szczechowiak for manager of the General Department of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gorzow.

The Voivodship Committee members also passed unanimously a resolution in the matter of tasks of echelons and party organizations in the implementation of the economic reform and in overcoming the crisis.

The plenum ended with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Plenum Resolution

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 7 Jun 82 p 1

[Text] The following is the resolution of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Gorzow from 3 June 1982 in the matter of tasks of echelons and party organizations in the implementation of the economic reform and in overcoming the crisis.

After acquainting itself with the current political and economic situation in the region of Gorzow and with the opinions of industrial and scientific-technical communities, the PZPR Voivodship Committee accepts the main directions of political work which are contained in the report of the Voivodship Committee Executive Board.

The Voivodship Committee affirms that the introduction of martial law has made it possible to assume effective activity for leading the economy out of the crisis. The drop in production has been halted, work discipline has improved and work related to the implementation of the economic reform has been accelerated.

However, the Voivodship Committee does detect a series of negative phenomena which distort the ideas of the reform and delay its implementation and the period of coming out of the crisis. The overcoming of difficulties is proceeding too slowly. There exists the tendency to create old organizational structures. There is no radical improvement in the effectiveness of management--in

the use of production factors in production processes. The state of languor and waiting has not been overcome everywhere.

The Voivodship Committee considers it essential that party work be intensified on behalf of changes in the attitudes, in the ways of thinking and acting of the managerial cadre and the workforces of work establishments. The new principles of management as well as the public's expectations of positive results from the reform require creative, unconventional thinking and actions as well as initiatives aimed at the effective use of production capabilities, of intellectual potential and of the aspirations and ambitions of industrial communities and of entire workforces.

The Voivodship Committee recognizes as the basic tasks in the area of material production, the strengthening of positive trends in overcoming the crisis. This mainly involves:

1. the successive rebuilding of industrial production to at least the level which was attained last year;
2. increasing our region's exports;
3. the further elimination of imports from the II payments area [capitalist countries] on the way to utilizing substitutes from countries of the socialist community as well as our own domestic solutions and raw materials;
4. the lowering of production costs; conserving the use of raw material consumption, that of fuel, energy and other materials as well as introducing economizing measures in the cost of transporting, storing, etc.

The Voivodship Committee obligates echelons and party organizations to consistently execute the tasks contained in the schedule for the implementation of the resolution of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum which were accepted by the PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretariat. The full implementation of these tasks requires the active participation of all party members, managerial cadres, scientific-technical communities, associations, workforces and the public in overcoming the effects of the crisis.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gorzow expresses words of recognition and gratitude to all working people for their efforts in overcoming the crisis and implementing the economic reform.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee is appealing to echelons and party organizations, to scientific-technical communities, associations, workforces and the public of Gorzow region for their active participation in work carried out on behalf of leading the country out of the crisis and overcoming difficulties and barriers which hinder the effective use of the region's production potential and which prolong the attainment of economic stability.

The Voivodship Committee obligates the Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee to examine the recommendations made during the discussion and to implement those of vital importance.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gorzow



## Executive Board Meeting

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 17 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (ada): "From the Session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gorzow"]

[Text] The Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gorzow held a full day's session yesterday [16 June 1982]. During the first part of the session which took place in Gorzow under the chairmanship of Florian Ratajczak, first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, the work of the councillors of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] was evaluated. The second part of the session took place at the Klicko PGR [State Farm] in conjunction with the Presidium of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Voivodship Committee where the deliberations were presided over by the chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Committee, Stefan Szymanski.

The Executive Board acquainted itself with the material prepared by the presidium of the Voivodship Party Councils' Group which analyzes the activeness of PZPR members in accordance with the councillor's mandates. From this material, it appears that party councillors, of whom there are 55 in the Gorzow WRN, show great activeness during sessions as well as in the work of the commission. Nonetheless, even in this group there are passive people who do not participate in discussions, do not make recommendations or raise questions on the council floor. This also results from a small contact with the electors who are usually a source of local information for the councillor. The number of meetings with electors during the past 2 years was quite low with the exception of the councillors from the electoral district of Mysliborz who had four meetings.

The Executive Board members expressed words of recognition for the councillors--assignees of the PZPR who through their commitment contribute to the effective implementation of the electoral program and to the strengthening of the authority of the council and the status of the councillor. It was decided to maintain closer contact and to enable the councillors to acquaint themselves more closely with the directions taken by the work of the voivodship echelon and the sociopolitical and economic situation in the voivodship by giving access to the resolutions of the echelon. It was also determined necessary to conduct conversations with those councillors who do not demonstrate active involvement.

During the afternoon hours, the members of the Executive Board and the Presidium of the ZSL Voivodship Committee as well as management representatives of institutions connected with agriculture went to the Mysliborz gmina where in a group, they visited several local farming establishments belonging to the PGRs and cooperatives. This is not a new form of work for voivodship echelons. Such field-trip meetings were already held this year prior to the sowing campaign. The topic of yesterday's meetings was preparations for the harvest. Exemplary order and complete readiness for the campaign were found in the gmina. Observations from the inspection and the principal topic were discussed at a joint session on the PGR in Klicko.

This year's harvest-threshing campaign in the Gorzow region imposes very strained tasks on agriculture and on all related institutions. There are 138,000 hectares of grain to be harvested (4,200 more than last year) and 17,000 hectares of rape. The planned procurement of grain is much higher--reaching 85,000 tons, whereas last year [1981], it amounted to 66,000 tons. On the other hand, yields are expected to be lower than last year. For example, it is estimated that rye will give 15 to 20 percent lower yields. In order to keep up with procurement tasks, it is necessary to maximize the efficiency of both the harvest campaign and the collection of yields. It is, therefore, necessary that AGROMA [Agricultural Equipment Trade Enterprise] be constantly on duty, that there be immediate reaction to any and all signs of machinery breakdowns and that grain storehouses should continuously take in all grain, waiving the burdensome process of grain selection for the supplier. Farmers who have work waiting to be done on time every day of the week should also be assured every form of assistance in everyday matters such as water supply, food goods, etc. Local merchant institutions should concern themselves with these.

The direct activity of all those concerned will assure the efficient and successful run of this important campaign.

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POLAND

'HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES' WITHIN PZPR ASSAILED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No. 7-8, Jul-Aug 82 pp 51-64

[Article by Jerzy Kraszewski: "'Horizontal Structures: An Attempt at Documentation and Reflections" under the rubric "Concerning Disputes on the Nature of the Party"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] During the so-called post-August period, and especially in the late 1980 and early 1981, new negative phenomena--in addition to those occurring earlier--manifested themselves within the party. These phenomena interfered with the party's activities, weakened and disrupted unity and deepened the process of disintegration. They consisted in, among other things, a relapse of revisionist-opportunist tendencies, practical rejection of the Leninist interpretation of the principles of democratic centralism by many party elements and explicit manifestations of factional struggle.

What are the sources of these phenomena? Why did they manifest themselves in that period? What conclusions ensue from them?

In exploring answers to these questions it should be borne in mind that during the second half of 1980 the party was traumatized by the outbreak of the July-August conflict, disappointed by unfulfilled hopes awakened by the 8th Congress, weakened by the ideological erosion occurring within its ranks in recent years and paralyzed by attacks of the anti-communist opposition, which was aware that the disintegration of the party and ultimately its elimination from political life would result in the elimination of socialism.

Under these conditions a universal, sharp and brutally frank discussion of the causes of the greatest socio-political crisis in 36 years [of existence of the PRL] began within the party. The impetus for this discussion was, besides, provided by the Central Committee at the 6th Plenum, when it performed a critical and candid appraisal of the situation. The discussion spread to all party elements and primarily to party organizations within large groups of the working class.

Tumultuous debates took place and attempts were made to explore such forms and methods of action as would correspond to the realities then existing. Emphasis was placed on the need to restore democratic principles in intra-party life and purge the party of individuals not meeting the ideological, political and organizational principles of the PZPR, --of random, passive and petty bourgeois elements. Mention was made of

the need to restructure ideological life, conditions for restoring the bond with the working class, responsibility for mistakes. These discussions were authentic and valuable. They strengthened the party and promoted the formation of committed attitudes in communists.

There is no doubt, however, that we then also had been dealing with a certain "discoordination" of moods within the party. This was reflected in, among other things, the disregard of the fundamental premises of our movement, the selective, "elective" adoption of only some parts of these premises and rejection of others. It was then that certain party "intellectuals," as well as certain groups of activists, began to spread the dangerous and anti-Leninist, essentially revisionist thesis of the need to transform the PZPR into an organizationally vague "social movement," which undermined the principles of democratic centralism. Here one could cite pronouncement made in the press by many journalists and both newly baked "theoreticians" and those with a record reaching back to more than one historical "turn of the road," who deepened the chaos and disintegration. Mention could be made here of the documents issued by basic party organizations [POP] which confused concepts of the class struggle with the conflicts occurring in the course of the building of socialism, identified the effects of the crisis with its causes, etc.

The party needed discussions. But--let us be frank--the party also needed, particularly at that time, /both democratization/ and conscious tightened /discipline, unity of action/. Only by basing itself in practice on the principles of democratic centralism rather than acting as a debating club in turmoil could the party cope with the requirements of the then already menacing situation.

At the same time, the /external/, clearly counter-revolutionary menace had been growing like an avalanche beginning with the fall of 1981. There took place a consolidation of forces which, occupying positions both hostile to socialism and anarchist, desired the maintenance and aggravation of social tension and further destabilization of life along with the weakening and ultimately elimination of socialist rule. Rightist and anti-communist groupings became active.

It is against this background that, in my opinion, the rise and evolution of the so-called "horizontal structures" in the fall of 1980 should be assessed. From the vantage point of the 15 or so months, rich in tumultuous events, that have elapsed since then, the threat, represented by that movement, at least in its majority, to the party's future, can be now seen more clearly than ever. It undoubtedly belongs among those post-August occurrences in the party's life which weakened the unity of the PZPR, undermined its organizational principles, and compounded ideological confusion so that, as a result, they paralyzed the party's work and weakened its ability to combat rightist and anti-communist opposition. But while these occurrences failed to result in the collapse of the party, they did succeed in imbuing certain elements with opportunist, reformist and capitulatory tendencies. Traces of these tendencies still can be detected, and they continue to hinder the process of renewal of the party and its recovery of ideological and political identity.

#### "Important Precedent" or the Beginning of Factionalism

The initiative in forming a new structure separate from the statutory echelons was conceived by a group of scientific associates at the Mikolaj Kopernik University in

[UMK] in Torun. On their inspiration, the branch party organization at the Institute of Social Sciences and the Institute of Education and Psychology, UMK, adopted on 1 October 1980 the resolution "on the commencement of grassroots preparations for the Party Congress." that document included an appeal to plant committees [KZ] within the University as well as at the APATOR [Pomeranian Electrical Equipment Works in Torun] and the TOWIMOR [Torun Ship Equipment Works]--which was besides already previously agreed upon with certain activists at these organizations--for an "urgent convening of consultation of the plant committees...in order to discuss the framework and principles of the further organization of the initiative of the party membership in our entire region." The resolution of the department party organization [OOP] stated further that "the autonomous activities of the Independent Trade Union Solidarity can and even should be supported and complemented by the authentic actions of the party organizations and their members." This was followed on 27 October by a meeting of representatives of eight party organizations in Torun (APATOR, ELANA [Chemical Fiber Works], METALCHEM [Chemical Equipment Works], METRON [Office Machine Works], TORAL [Electronics Works], TOWIMOR, Torun Industrial Construction Enterprise and the UMK) at which was formed the so-called Party Organizations' Consultative-Agreement Commission [KKPOP]. The members of that commission elected from among themselves the Provisional Presidium of the Commission as well as the Provisional Editorial Team. These deliberately made organizational decisions demonstrate that a coherent and clear /vertical structure/ within the new grouping began to be constructed from the very beginning. The role of the coordinating center was fulfilled by the Provisional Presidium and the Provisional Editorial Team. It To be sure, verbal assurances were made that this concerns a "grassroots movement," "one of the forms of grassroots party initiative within the framework of the pre-congress campaign," and the desire to "cooperate" with the city and voivodship [Party] committees was officially declared, but in practice, from the very first days, a new structure opposed to the party-echelon structure had been formed. The future was yet to demonstrate that the reservations and fears, expressed by many party milieux in Torun, that this initiative might engender factionalism, proved to be justified.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] found itself in a difficult situation. It perceived the danger and drew the attention of the commission's aktiv to the need for concerted action by the entire organization, but at the same time its response to the initiative itself was open and sincere, on the premise that it could become a factor energizing the life of the party. The assurances given by the initiators were believed, and attempts were made to incline them toward joint work and include them in the preparations, being made by the echelons, for the party congress. These attempts were rejected and the so-called Party Organizations' Consultative-Agreement Commission [KKPOP] evolved with increasing clarity into an autonomous structure operating /beside and against/ the [city and voivodship party] committees. Intense organizational and promotional activities commenced, and more and more plant committees and POP's were attracted to membership in the "commission." In this connection, in many cases, the party members in whose name resolutions were adopted, "positions" voted upon and conclusions formulated, learned about their contents only after they were published. Slogans about the need to democratize intra-party life and appeals to the "will of the party masses" concealed failure to observe in practice the principles of democratization. For it was not democratization and not energization of the party that were of concern to the initiators and animators of 'horizontal' structure.

The first stage in the activities of the Consultative-Agreement Commission was the drafting of documents defining the attitude to the most important events and occurrences within the party--in Torun and nationally. Its communique No 3 of 19 November 1980 took a critical attitude toward the situation in the voivodship party organization, because a WK plenum... made various comments concerning the commission, warning against the danger that it might become a faction within the party. On the same day [the commission] resolved upon its "position toward the preparations for the congress," with its resolution containing a list of demands and postulates having little in common with its wish, declared as recently as a few weeks earlier, to take a constructive part in party /discussion/.

At the same time, one of the co-organizers of the KKPOP, the then first secretary of the KZ in TOWIMOR, Zbigniew Iwanow, launched an unprecedented organizational activity, and not for the purpose of conducting the discussion at that. On his instigation, flyers were distributed in the city and outside concerning internal party matters and calling for immediate spontaneously conducted elections bypassing the existing party echelons. He revealed his views during, among other things, an interview granted to Swedish television correspondents and during an audition at an academic studio, where he appealed for "the need to tear power out of their throat," "the need to lash out, scratch, bite." The "program" for such a "democratization" of the party was directed against activists who did not share his views.

Who was Zbigniew Iwanow? The most astute assessment of that individual is contained in...his own utterances. In an interview with a GAZETA POMORSKA correspondent he had formulated thus his "program" credo: /"I'm opposed to the drafting of a monolithic party program. I believe that several alternative programs should exist.... In addition, I believe that we should follow the direction of turning this party into--if I may put it so plainly and, of a certainty, expose myself immediately to various accusations--a multi-faction party. Of course, both plurality of programs and plurality of factions should be covered by some general principles whose disregard would mean a different political self-definition. What should these general principles be? They should be the acknowledgment of public ownership of means of production, recognition of international alliances, and perhaps some other aspects as well...."/

When quoted by a mimeographed student newspaper in Lodz, in answer to the question of whether he regards himself a communist, he declared: "I've never been a communist. My views are closer to social-democratic ones." He reaffirmed this new "self-discovery" during a meeting with the Szczecin Discussion Forum, this time more categorically: /"I've never been a communist; I've always been a social democrat."/

When the Voivodship Party Control Commission [WKKP] expelled Z. Iwanow from the PZPR for activities "detrimental to the party's unity, for failure to observe the ideological and organizational norms of the party and for a consistent and obdurate violation of the principles of democratic centralism," the KKPOP Provisional Presidium declared that it regards the decision to expel him from the party.../"as a drastic gesture aimed against the process of renewal within the party, initiated in Torun by the convening of the Party Organizations' Consultative-Agreement Commission."/ the Presidium also declared that it was not taking note of the WKKP's decision: /"Comrade Iwanow is one of us, party members, who in the past weeks spared no effort and toil in the interest of their own party organization, as well as of the entire party,

striving to deepen the process of renewal and perceiving the party as a force that is enabled by the wisdom of the working class and the intelligentsia to lead the country out of its continuing and dramatic political-social crisis."/ Was it ignorance, stubbornness or cynicism that had dictated this opinion to the "horizontal structure" activists? The opinion about an individual whose membership in the party was simply a misunderstanding....

"No note was also taken" of the resolution of the Adjudication Team of the Central Party Control Commission [CKKP], which sustained the decision of the Voivodship Party Control Commission. The resolution of the Presidium of the CKKP, which supported the verdict of the WKKP and acknowledged the justice of the decision taken, was not obeyed. The resolution to expel Z. Iwanow from the party was not obeyed either--on the instigation of the KKPOP leadership--by the party organization in TOWIMOR, which elected him a delegate to the municipal conference. But in the post-August period certain customs used to prevail within that organization. At meetings convened by Iwanow there never was a quorum. They were instead attended by crowds of invited guests, Solidarity activists and non-party members and staged in the presence of TV cameras and journalists attracted from all over the country....in an atmosphere of public meetings at which it was difficult to polemicize.

The so-called Iwanow affair became, among other things, the cause of a dramatic conflict during deliberations of the city conference in May and June of last year. By a majority of a few votes it adopted a resolution acknowledging the validity of Iwanow's mandate. That was, of course, a resolution contrary to the party statute and violating the principles of democratic centralism. In protest against that decision, 180 delegates left the conference room. The threat of a schism hung over the conference. Both the protesters and those who had remained in the room sent separate telegrams to the then first secretary of the Central Committee [KC]. In response to these telegrams, he wrote the conference asking to reconsider the matter and appealing for party unity. The letter of the first secretary of the KC was read from the podium and the protesters were readmitted to the debates, but the decision concerning Iwanow's mandate was not annulled.

Even earlier another dispute was provoked. The original date of the city conference in Torun was fixed for 28 April 1981. In accordance with the initially unquestioned resolution of the City Committee [KM], each delegate was elected by 60 party members, while numerically smaller chapters were granted the right to elect one delegate each as well. Several days prior to the conference a change in the election "key" and the adoption of the principle of one delegate for every 20 members were demanded. At the same time, a group of delegates inspired by the "horizontal agreement" declared that it would not participate in the deliberations unless the recommendation were adopted. In its concern for party unity, the City Committee revised the election principles and postponed the date of the conference until the end of May. The conflict threatening in April was resolved. What was the aim of its initiators? What was the real issue in the forced dispute about Iwanow's voting mandate?

The issue in the conflict caused by the destructive activities of the KKPOP was that a statutory legal decision of the Central Party Control Commission was opposed. The delegates had to resolve the dilemma of whether to obey or disobey that decision. In other words, should the conference resolve to violate the principles mandatory in the party or should it follow these principles? How and on what basis did originate

the resistance of those who had believed that party discipline should not be obeyed? Whence came the tendencies toward fragmenting the party? The changing of the election "key" involved increasing the number of the delegates in such a manner as to simply...assure the KKPOP of influencing the voting on new officers.

Part of the delegates were aware of this manipulation, and the nature of the dispute was discussed privately. Public discussion of that nature was prevented with the aid of demagoguery and on aggravating the tension in the conference room. Had public discussion taken place, had the nature of the dispute been honestly discussed, the conference's deliberations would surely have taken a different turn.

The dispute essentially concerned not procedural questions but cardinal and crucial problems of intra-party life: can there be circumstances justifying failure to obey the legitimate decisions of party authorities? Can all views be tolerated within the party? Where do the boundaries of the discussions end? Thus it was a dispute about the nature of the party, rather than about the mandate of Iwanow, who had besides, soon after the conference, obtained a job with the Torun Solidarity, where he distinguished himself among other activists by his extreme and anti-party initiatives.

#### "New Rules"--Against Unity

The conflict at the city conference was a spectacular but not the only manifestation of the destructive activity of the "horizontal structure," which had from the beginning been conceived as opposition to the statutory echelons. For, according to the KKPOP's concept, the party's rebirth was to occur through a /struggle against the [higher-level party] committees/. Yes, precisely, not through their criticism (and many of them had deserved such criticism), not through discussion, but through /active opposition/. Thus from the beginning a /decision-making center/ independent of the party echelons had been formed. The awakened activity of party members and their sincere desire for changes were exploited to promote activities alien to the party. The "horizontal structure" arose under slogans of renewal and rebirth of the party, and called itself an "important precedent," a "great political experiment," with its supporters proclaiming the "determination of new rules of party action," the creation of "extraordinary channels for agreement and communication"--but actually causing conflicts, a schism and the deepening of ideological confusion.

For the sake of accuracy and historical record let us note that all the tortuous paths of the Torun "structure" originated from a team of activists at the local university. The team was transformed into an "ideological headquarters" and instigating center. Sonorous slogans about the need to eliminate the "isolation of the academic community from what is being thought in the factories" and the "isolation and powerlessness felt at the smaller party organizations" as well as "the consolidation of the party on the basis of its rank-and-file membership, contrary to bureaucratic obstacles and admonitions" were sounded. The slogans gained popularity and obscured the actual goals of the team. That was all the easier considering that behind the slogans and the KKPOP initiatives stood the authority of doctoral and professorial diplomas.

But the initiatives themselves increasingly pointed to the progressive political and ideological erosion within that group.



Consider the following facts:

--On 18 February 1981 the executive board of the School Committee [KU] declared its attitude toward student strikes: "The student actions have from the beginning been linked to the vital aspirations and strivings of the academic community and are in the nature of an authentic and valuable attempt by the youth to contribute to improving the working and living conditions at the school."

--On 20 March 1981 the School Committee expressed its "highest outrage" in protesting the activities of the forces of law and order in Bydgoszcz, without considering their causes and on recognizing "the participation of party members in the strike declared in connection with the Bydgoszcz events to be fully justified."

--On 25 March the executive board of the KU, following the resolution of 20 March of the School Committee, decided "to join the Strike Committee at the UMK."

--On 30 March the School Committee adopted a resolution "concerning the results of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee," in which it declared that: "in view of the contents of the resolution of the 9th Plenum....the Central Committee found itself to be in the minority. Thus, the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee violates the fundamental principle of democratic centralism. Hence also, the School Committee holds the position that disregard of the resolution of the 9th Plenum or its selective acceptance by party members and basic party organizations cannot be considered violation of the party discipline."

--On 31 March, following the ending of the Warsaw talks, the Secretariat of the KU dispatched a telegram to Lech Walesa: "Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the party members at the UMK in Torun we wish to transmit to you personally the expressions of our esteem and gratitude for your contribution to this important agreement." The other partner in these talks, Deputy Premier M. Rakowski, did not receive any telegram from the KU Secretariat at the UMK in Torun....

Such were the "new rules of action of the party" and "extraordinary channels for agreement and communication"....

In particular, the "channels for communication" were utilized. The initiators of the application of "new rules of action of the party" did not confine themselves to their own region and began to propagate them throughout the country. Emissaries of the "structure" traveled throughout Poland, telexes and documents drafted in Torun were dispatched to party organizations in factories, and journalists and certain publications of the press were utilized. One of the KKPOP documents stated plainly: "All of the materials we present have been the subject of current lively discussion and appraisals among not only party members and not only in Torun. The new practice of setting up extraordinary channels for agreement and communication has caused many of the documents of the School Committee at the UMK and the Party Organizations' Consultative-Agreement Commission, as well as articles, to be disseminated throughout the country in the form of locally made reprints and published in bulletins and information memos of basic [party] organizations at labor establishments and educational institutions."

Thus, "new forms of agreement" arose in Lodz, Szczecin, Poznan, Wroclaw, Bydgoszcz and other cities. These forms varied, with some rejecting the demagogic slogans emanating from Torun and operating in concord with the party echelons, making a constructive contribution to the pre-congress discussion. Others, which unfortunately were in the majority, acted from adventurist, schismatic and liquidating positions. When the movement had spread to some 15 cities and voivodships, its activities began to be coordinated. On 15 April 1981 the so-called Pre-Congress Forum of Party Agreement was convened in Torun. Domestic journalists and foreign correspondents accredited in Warsaw were invited, as were local Solidarity activists and many non-party members.

Following tumultuous debates the "Forum" published a document listing demands and recommendations for members of congress commissions. It also formulated the demands regarding the coming 10th Plenum of the Central Committee: change the membership of the Central Committee, void the provisional election regulations adopted at the 9th Plenum, abandon the information policy supposedly intended to block information on the subject of the... "structures," etc. The tone was categorical, admitting no opposition, apodictic--like the tone of all the other documents from the "horizontal structures."

Let us describe that meeting, at which the voices raised were far from unanimous. Along with loud demagogic slogans calculated to deepen the divisions within the party were raised voices in favor of a reasonable party-minded evaluation of the situation. But these nuances are not the point here. The heart of the matter is that the Torun meeting was conceived as an attempt at an /organized, institutionalized intervention/ into the preparations for the 9th Congress, as an attempt to gain influence on the course of the elections and the composition of the delegates, an attempt to impose on the party a different program platform. This concerned creating /a new decision-making center within the party/, one opposed to the statutory echelons; this concerned the seizure of initiative in the preparations for the congress and the imposition of own program line during its deliberations. Let us add that the movement for horizontal structures gained the sympathy and approval of certain contemporary central activists; that many Warsaw--and not only Warsaw--"theoreticians" had been frequent visitors to Torun, and that certain journalists became the heralds and propagandists of the "new channels of agreement." This elevated the "rank" of the movement, helped coordinate factional actions in the country and created a climate of tension within the party.

It is characteristic that the Western centers of anti-communist propaganda had immediately reacted to the Torun "forum" by regarding it as an "event of a particularly great significance." "Free Europe" had devoted to that event several extensive broadcasts based on reports from the correspondents of the bourgeois press invited to Torun. The commentator at that radio station, who was clearly addressing his text to PZPR members, declared: /"The participants in the discussion stressed the need to expand the so-called horizontal structures within the base of the party, that is, permanent contacts among cells and organizations associating rank-and-file party members."/ A commentator at the BBC informed listeners in Poland in a "concise" manner: /"The demands voiced by those assembled in Torun can be summed up briefly: this concerns the removal of hardliners from the party leadership."/ A similar tone was used by other radio stations as well in reporting on the Torun meetings. This "propaganda noise" of foreign centers was intended to exert pressure on the party,

deepen confusion in its ranks and weaken its strength. It had ideally meshed with and complemented the activities of the domestic opposition.

At the same time, following the "forum's" recommendations, the KKPOP declared a party emergency for the period of the deliberations of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee. Similar "initiatives" were undertaken in other cities. In proclaiming this decision the KKPOP stated: /"Being aware of the tremendous importance of the current deliberations of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee to the solution of urgent problems facing the country, and in particular the entire party, we have met with the object of an ongoing analysis of the course of the deliberations and assessment of the results of the plenum. The group gathering in a state of party emergency has been given the mandate by the organizations it represents to take a position and adopt resolutions. We link great hopes to the decisions of the 10th Plenum and we wish to support by our attitude those members of the party leadership who, knowing the postulates of the party grassroots, are ready to strive that the Central Committee may acknowledge them as its own postulates."/

As contained in that declaration, the interpretation of the purposes of the "emergency" was complemented in an "open letter" to the then ideological secretary of the School Committee at the UMK, regarded as an official document by the participants in the drive. That was a curious document in all of its aspects. Its author, addressing his remarks to Central Committee members, wrote: /"Slow and centrally obstructed preparations for the 9th Extraordinary Congress, tightening the rope and common provocations against the trade unions, inclusive of such a great social force as Solidarity... all this dramatically postpones the possibilities for providing the conditions for a joint construction of the program for staving off total disaster. It is not the strikes that at present are the greatest and prime danger to socialism in Poland. It is the adherence to backward methods that long since have not been accepted by the party--backward methods of treatment of the party and the entire society--that engenders confrontation responses and prepares the soil for extremist slogans."/ And in conclusion, also addressing the Central Committee members, he states: /"The party grassroots now extend their hand to many of you. Do not allow that hand to turn into a fist!"/

✓ The "emergency" was declared. A few days later the KKPOP "evaluated" its course: /"Throughout the duration of the Plenum regular contacts were maintained with the seat of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP] in Warsaw, where stayed representatives of similarly organized actions in various regions of the country...Throughout the duration of the plenum reasonably accurate information was received (thanks to the mediation and assistance of comrade Bratkowski) along with telex summaries of the speeches....Reactions were readied almost immediately toward speeches by Central Committee members. The report from the Politburo also was assessed."/

These citations require no commentary. They reduce to a program for schismatic action aimed against party unity. This aim was to be served by dividing the Central Committee members into "hardliners" and "liberals" according to arbitrary criterions; it was to be served by the criticism of the discussants at the plenum; it was, finally, to be served by false appraisals of the situation in the country. These appraisals had no room for political opponents and antisocialist groupings: all they mentioned was "the great social force"--Solidarity--and "the great grassroots movement within the party"--the horizontal structures. And this was blackmail, with the unprecedented "project" for balling up the hand into a fist....

Such a position, and the actions ensuing from it, was justified by referring to lack of trust in the then Central Committee. Lists of incriminated activists were compiled and "personal resolutions" were adopted. Not one of these documents contains even traces of discussion of matters on their own merit, traces of polemics in which some rationales are opposed with others. It can be doubted whether such a discussion was at the time--when the party was in danger--needed at all. But, I repeat, it did not contain even a trace of objectivity. It abounded in labels, dicta, demagogic accusations.

The technique employed is known in the history of the opportunist current in the worker movement. Already Lenin had pointed out that /"no central echelon of any party in the world can prove that it is capable of directing those who do not wish to follow the leadership. The refusal to follow the leadership of the central echelons is tantamount to resignation from membership in the party, to a schism within the party; this is not a means of convincing but a means of splitting. And it is precisely this substitution of convincing with splitting that demonstrates lack of fixity of principles, lack of faith in one's own ideals."1/

...Following the voivodship conference the activity of the KKPOP declined and no new "initiatives" were noted. This may have been due to the fact that some of its activists were among the new City Committee authorities elected at the tumultuous conference in June, or perhaps it may have been influenced by the results of the voivodship conference, which had rejected the concept of the "structure," or perhaps, finally, it may have been influenced by other factors, e.g. by the hopes linked with the 9th Congress?

But this calm did not last long. Following the 9th Congress the KKPOP did not disband although the authorities that it had so much criticized were replaced at all levels, and although the new statute voted upon at the 9th PZPR Congress had precisely defined the principles of intra-party life:/"Intra-party democracy, freedom of discussion and criticism, may not be restrained and curtailed, nor may they be exploited for purposes contrary to the ideology and policies of the party as well as to its political and organizational unity. Impermissible, in particular, are actions of a factional nature consisting in the formation of formalized intra-party groups propagating a separate program, a separate political line, and separate organizational principles and forming an autonomous decisionmaking center with respect to the statutory party authorities."/ Pursuant to the statute, on the other hand, party organizations may, in consultation with the higher-level party committees, directly cooperate with the object of exchanging experience and drafting recommendations, proposals and concepts serving to enrich party activity. The statute further declares: "The teams formed as part of such cooperation lack the rights of party authorities vis a vis the basic party organizations concerned; they rather are of an auxiliary nature and inspire concrete activities."/

Factional activity was continued upon merely modifying somewhat the operating principles of the KKPOP. In September 1981 the first attempts to undermine the new Central Committee were made. The new decisionmaking center acting parallel to the KW and the KM continued to exist. That center had, on the initiative of the executive board of the School Committee, proposed convening in Torun an All-Polish Party Meeting ("the second forum") for discussion of the current situation in the party

and country. /Assessment/: the danger is represented by "the aggressive forces of dogmatism, sectarianism and political conservatism." /Postulate/: "Total mobilization of the forces for renewal within the party for joint action with the trade union movement, including Solidarity, on tasks that are crucial at present...."

The Central Committee and KW did not approve the concept of the "all-Polish meeting." Thus the organization of another "party emergency" was initiated, this time "against confrontation." The document defining the aim of this measure, dated 7 December 1981, stated: "In particular, the ultra-hardline forces in the party-state apparatus should be prevented from pressing with impunity for direct social confrontation by exploiting and releasing the militancy of extreme forces within Solidarity and preparing the soil for the development of opposition and anti-party proclivities and attitudes in various communities and regions of the country." This was written on 7 December, that is, already after the nature of the deliberations of the Presidium of the National Commission [KK] of Solidarity in Radom was brought to light....

The "emergency" lasted 3 days. That was long enough for the publication of two "declarations" and the dispatching of a telegram with... wishes for fruitful discussion to the National Commission of Solidarity that was then in session in Gdansk.

...On 13 December, in the early hours of the dawn, the "emergency" had ceased. On 7 January 1982 the executive board of the KW resolved to disband the PZPR organization at the UMK and verify [the loyalty of] all of its members. On 27 January was held a meeting of the newly formed party organization at the UMK, at which new authorities were elected. Following the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee the Party Organizations' Consultative-Agreement Commission in Torun was officially disbanded. Analogous decisions were made in other voivodships.

#### Discussion and Unity of Action

Although their scope had extended to only part of the party, the "horizontal structures" were a dangerous and threatening phenomenon. The danger lay in that, from its very inception, this movement showed all the earmarks of a faction and acquired--in time more and more explicitly--the form of an autonomous grouping within the PZPR that propagated its own program planks and its own, opportunist political line which consisted in, among other things, absolute and complete acceptance of all the demands and postulates of Solidarity, without their class-oriented and party-minded analysis. It can thus be said that we were dealing with a recurrence of the phenomenon known as the spread of chaos or khvostism [literally "tailism," a Russian political term meaning the limitation of revolutionary aims to those intelligible to the backward masses] in the history of the worker movement. There arose a decisionmaking center that was independent of the party echelons. To be sure it did not have enough time to acquire a definite organizational form, but it had consistently pursued that direction. Under the cover of the slogan of struggle for a renewal of the PZPR, exploiting the bitterness and discontent of the party base, attempts were made to weaken and split the statutory party echelons and their apparatus from the inside. /Next to them and above them/ new structures were formed with the ambition of taking over the leadership functions. This was not a matter of criticizing the mistakes committed by the party echelons. The real issue was that of forming a new party model contrary to Leninist principles.

While the democratization of party life was advocated in theory, in practice the Leninist principles of democratic centralism, which are inviolable, were rejected. As experience teaches, factional actions result in either bureaucratism or chaos, anarchy and disorganization. The Leninist concept of the party combines /dialectically/ centralism with democratism and the right to free discussion with discipline in implementing resolutions. The application of this principle to the life of every Marxist-Leninist party is a process of meshing /centralism/, which attaches importance to the elected authorities of the party, with /democratism/, which promotes the active participation of the party grassroots in decisionmaking, stimulates the initiative of the members and shapes disciplined attitudes.

From the rules of democratic centralism ensues the necessity of the /ideological, political and organizational unity of the party/. This is a fundamental and inviolable, regardless of the situation, requirement of the /effectiveness/ of party action. This is not a matter of dogma. Socialism is the first ever system of society to be created deliberately and on the basis of scientific criteria and own experience as well as the experience of others. Thus, steering this process is an objective necessity. The leading role can be played only by the Marxist-Leninist party. Without a conscious, coherent and strong party the process of building socialism is not possible.

Lenin wrote: /"Some or other divergences in various matters always were and will inevitably manifest themselves within the party, which is based on a vast popular movement and poses itself the task of being the conscious means of expressing that movement on resolutely rejecting all factionalism and narrowly sectarian views. But in order to be worthy representatives of the conscious and militant proletariat, the members of our party...must exert every effort so that not one divergence in the interpretation and means of implementation of the planks of our party program would or could interfere with harmonious joint work under the leadership of our central party echelons."/2

Lenin stressed the need for a harmonious meshing of the /right to discussion/ within the party with the /duty of discipline/: /"Unity of action [along with] freedom of discussion and criticism--such is our definition. Only such a discipline is worthy of the democratic party of the vanguard class. The strength of the working class lies in its organization. Without organization, our proletariat is nothing. When organized, it is everything. Organization means unity of action, unity of practical deeds. But of course actions and all kinds of deeds are of value only because and insofar as they promote progress rather than retrogression--insofar as they strengthen the ideological cohesion of the proletariat, raising it to a higher level rather than pushing it downward, demoralizing it and undermining its strength."/3

...Let us now consider that the initially isolated groupings began, since the spring of 1981, explicitly to aim at disrupting the unity of the entire party and coordinate their actions on the national scale. Such was the goal of the Torun "forum," and such were the aims of the call for convening--already after the 9th Congress--the so-called All-Polish Party Meeting. Such were the intentions that gave birth, within that movement, to program concepts alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideology and, not infrequently, consonant with the theses disseminated by the opposition and anti-socialist forces concentrated around the leading centers of Solidarity and other

rightist groupings. To the "horizontal structure" activists the rightist foe was not menacing. What was "menacing" was the leftist current in the PZPR, the "menacing" higher-level party committees and apparatus, the "aggressive forces of doctrinaire-  
dom and conservatism." Of course, these activists arrogated to themselves the right to classify people and interpret doctrinaire-  
dom and conservatism--to themselves alone. It often had sufficed to defend the mandatory principles of the party, its program and line, and to disagree with the views of a "reformer" in order to be regarded as a "hard-headed" dogmatist. This is a standard procedure of factionalism.

Lenin also wrote: /"A faction is an organization existing in the bosom of the party that is united not by field of activity, language or other objective conditions but by a separate platform of views on party questions."/4 He had warned the worker movement at its very inception against centrifugal tendencies, viewing them as a threat to unity. He declared:/"In practical struggle against factionalism, every party organization should most vigilantly prevent any factional manifestations.... Anyone who offers criticism should couch his criticism in a form allowing for the party's situation in the midst of the enemies surrounding it...."/5

The activity of the "horizontal structures" has--regardless of the subjective striving of many individuals who had been disoriented and lost in the chaos of the events--displayed every trait of factionalism, disrupted the ideological and organizational unity of the party and wrought havoc in party and public consciousness. In its theoretical premises this was an opportunist-capitulatory and reformist movement attempting to separate the party from Marxist-Leninist principles and transform it into something close to a social-democratic party. It had forced the party to resume long-resolved disputes about its nature and disoriented a large part of its membership, disarming it in face of the threat from rightist and anti-communist forces.

The origins and evolution of the "horizontal structures" and the sources of their inspiration as well as the nature of their activities require further investigation. Many questions are as yet difficult to answer. Why was, for example, the initiative conceived precisely in Torun? Should a connection, as has been suggested, with the situation on the Coast--with which TOWIMOR has, in view of the nature of its production, always been in close contact, be explored? What role had been played by certain contemporary central activists who had often visited Torun? How were the program concepts of the KKPOP influenced by the fact that most of the activists on that commission had at the same time been members and activists of Solidarity? What role was played by local subjective factors and what by ideational confusion and general ideological weaknesses of the party? How was the opportunist undercurrent effectively able to seize the initiative at many centers of the party, and why did it not meet with a more determined resistance?

Of course, such resistance, and attempts to counteract that undercurrent, did exist. At many party organizations the progressive erosion of part of the party was mentioned with anxiety and the Central Committee received resolutions warning against the menacing danger and demanding resolute measures of the party leadership. Attempts to defend the party against destructive actions were also made in Torun, if only at the city and voivodship conferences.

But it should also be borne in mind that the polemic against the reformist tendencies both at the party organizations and in the party press had been too diffident, cryptic, toned down as it were, relatively indecisive, vacillating.

At the 7th Central Committee Plenum comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski declared:/"Opportunism is primarily vacillation, evasiveness, passive adaptation to the current situation. It is to be deplored when party people, who are aware of the social consequences of opportunism, do not know how to oppose it. It is worse even when they revise Marxist-Leninist principles. It is worst when they tend to agree with the political opposition. Experience demonstrates that the opportunist undercurrent causes devastation in party ranks, becomes an objective ally of anti-socialist forces and constitutes a real danger."/6

The wellsprings of the relapse of opportunist-reformist tendencies within the PZPR are complex and require further and more extensive theoretical assessment. But it can be stated by now that they had of a certainty originated from, among other things, long-unsurmounted weaknesses of the party, and especially from the revisionist tendencies of the 1950s that had not been completely eradicated; neglect of ideological work and a peculiar pragmatism in party practice; the inconsistencies of the "post-August" line; and also the total, concentrated attack against the party by political enemies, paralyzing the consciousness of the communists. These factors had undoubtedly provided the "subsoil" on which opportunist tendencies could be engendered within the PZPR.

The 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR that had deliberated a year ago rejected both the opportunist and the leftist undercurrents, but had logically to focus its attention on an assessment of the causes of the August conflict as well as on formulating a program for the future. The congress had, besides, held its deliberations in an atmosphere of political tension, in the presence of a menace, represented by the anti-communist groupings concentrated chiefly around the leading centers of Solidarity, in the presence of a clash among various conflicting tendencies within the party and at the congress itself. Thus, many questions and problems had remained unresolved.

The decisions of the 4th Central Committee Plenum enhanced the effectiveness of party action, while the resolutions of the 7th and 8th Central Committee plenums, the results of the First All-Polish Party Conference on Ideology and Theory and the discussions conducted within the party on the subject of /"What We Are Fighting For, What Are Our Goals"/ provided the conditions for expediting the recovery and rebirth of the PZPR as a Marxist-Leninist party, causing it to regain its ideational and political strength, and deepening and consolidating the leftward turn of the party.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V. Lenin, "Works" [in Polish translation], Vol VIII, p 385.
2. Ibid., Vol VII, pp 145-146.
3. Ibid., Vol XI, pp 313-314.
4. Ibid., Vol XVII, p 261.
5. Ibid., Vol XXXII, p 247.



6. "Tasks of the PZPR in the Struggle for Party Unity, for Strengthening the People's Power, for Complete Acceptance of Socialism by Society"--Political Bureau report presented by W. Jaruzelski at the 7th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, Ksiazka i Wiedza Press, 1982, pp 40-41.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### DEFICIENCIES IN ELECTORAL SYSTEM REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1658, 10 Oct 82  
pp 14-15

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Personnel Arithmetic"]

[Text] To what extent can the network of personnel commissions eliminate automatic rotation of managers? How is the electoral procedure to be freed of all ambiguity and omissions throughout its entire course?

"We have better politicians than policies. We change our policies frequently but we don't change our politicians at all." This old remark by Belgrade's duty cynic Dusko Radovic, which is still circulating, is only an indication that the so-called "personnel topic" continues to be the focus of public attention. It has remained in the political focus even in recent months while the newly-elected personnel teams are undertaking their first measures in the field. Recently, Professor Najdan Pasic also drew attention to the personnel topic in his letter to the Central Committee of the LCY, which spoke of the changes needed in the personnel system. Among other things, he pointed out that the problem of responsibility in our self-managing system cannot be resolved without a corresponding democratization of personnel policy.

"Wherever an organ or body, to which people are nominally responsible, has no influence on the selection, appointment, and further assignment of officials who are formally responsible to it, and wherever personnel policies are beyond genuine public control, the chain of responsibility is inevitably broken."

"It is necessary to establish," says Pasic, "to what extent automatic rotation of people in management positions, agreements on the assignment of personnel which are made beforehand in narrow closed circles, and the different application of various 'keys' serve to drive out the criterion of demonstrated results on the job, capability, and expertise."

Najdan Pasic emphasizes that this question is very significant "at a time when there is still a numerous and influential professional political administrative stratum."

It would not be good if this diagnosis by our eminent political scientist were to be dismissed lightly, since it is not insignificant, nor are the problems which it illuminates "devoid of potential consequences."

#### Deficiencies of the Electoral System

In a survey organized more than a year ago by the Belgrade Institute for Political Studies and the journal OPSTINA, academician Jovan Djordjevic appraised our existing delegate-electoral system as containing a series of imperfections and inconsistencies: a) it is not only complicated and formalistic, b) it is a mixed system as it encompasses elements of representation and delegation, c) it has not developed its democratic possibilities, especially in the candidate selection process, d) it is implemented more by ratification of delegate election than by direct election.

Dr Bostjan Markic mentioned at that time a study made by the Salupy Research Institute of Ljubljana that analyzed the electoral procedure in our self-managing society. Markic reported that the study, made 2 years ago, showed that only 10 percent of the voters are particularly active and that they are active in the candidate-registration phase and in all phases of candidate selection, not just in the final voting phase.

That study was illustrated by several other interesting details. For example, the researchers concluded that sociopolitical organizations are first as regards influence on the outcome of an election--primarily the LCY, followed by SAWPY. The study also showed that coordination committees for personnel policies "have a rather high position" as a mechanism that has great influence in the perception of the voters--in some circles, more than the sociopolitical organizations themselves.

Professor Radoslav Ratkovic said at that time, "Under normal and peaceful conditions, holders of social offices must have social standing and support and must feel that they do. For elections to be productive in this sense, they need not be ideal but must be comprehensible and acceptable to a majority of the people. The worst thing which can happen to the electoral process, especially to one which claims to be democratic, is for the outcome to be insufficiently understood as to why and how a person achieved some elective social office. Because of this, the electoral procedure in our socialist self-managing society, in all its phases--from the selection of candidates to the final electoral act--must be freed of all possible ambiguity and must be maximally transparent throughout."

From the standpoint of political science, the problem has been open for a long time. In practice?

This was asked on the eve of the great preelection campaign which took place in the first half of this year. There was no time for a more serious redesigning of the electoral process nor, obviously, was there agreement that such a redesigning was necessary. At that time, during the process of introducing collective responsibility and shortened terms of office, there

was an improvement in the social agreements on personnel policies. Obligatory consultations for all the more important political and social offices were extended in some cases--this was supposed to have acted as a barrier to private interests taking over personnel policies.

#### Numerous Forums

To be sure, past elections in some episodes have shown that the capacity of the electoral procedure disappears during times of social and political tension. An example from Krusevac illustrates this in a unique way: The opstina group in power "departed," thanks to the fact that the party base said "no" to some of the proposed candidates. However, such events should be counted not as isolated incidents but as the beginning of a new practice--not just as the consequence of social tension.

Many continue to believe that the system of prior consultations, by virtue of its multi-faceted nature, guarantees that the concentration of personnel policies in narrow circles will be prevented. In Belgrade, for example, all signatories to the social agreement on personnel policies must be questioned about the candidates for all positions of leadership in the socio-political organizations and in the city assembly. This constitutes a fairly large number of names and high-ranking forums at which these names will be mentioned: the SAWPY city and opstina conferences, the city and opstina committees of the LC, the trade union, the Veterans Association, the city and opstina assemblies and the assemblies of the SIZs [self-managing interest communities]. An entire network of personnel entities has been formed, a network which when viewed from without, can have a myriad of pressure points for public influence.

The real deficiency of this system, however, is that the "technology" of all these coordinating entities is not accessible to the public. Never, for example, are all the names that were mentioned for the various offices made public, nor where and why a certain person was "aimed" in some direction, nor who was forgotten or bypassed. The discussion of people, however, in our political practice, is one of those topics which, with some discomfort, are avoided--with the justification that the discussions would be transformed into "the fashioning of petty dictators." Speculations of this sort are often left to the well-informed gossip mongers, who often "know" who stands behind whom, who guards whose back, and who is carrying whom along.

#### Mysteries and Reality

When one looks at that many-faceted arrangement from outside, one certainly must ask how much energy is necessary in order to ensure that a certain candidate "makes it through." And, on the other hand, how much laziness is required, in that complicated system, for us to close our eyes collectively to the "imposed candidate?"

In contrast to this complicated mechanism, mysteries regarding the importance of the utterances of certain "big shots" are nurtured and maintained. In our political life, this is visible particularly at the middle and lower

levels which, although more transparent, have many of the "traditional techniques." Some political scientists point out these manipulations, using the examples of the phenomena of the so-called personnel "pressure points" and the "president's men." Sometimes, for example, the results of internal conflicts within working organizations are resolved in such a way as to launch a rumor that a certain comrade is backing a certain man.

On the other hand, with considerable certainty, one is able to reconstruct the real war for influence, the winning of individual targets, and the switching of some institutions from one "interest sphere" to another. Here and there, the mysteries are reality. Hence, those people are probably correct who believe the first step in improving the electoral system would be a requirement for a public announcement of the following minimum of facts: who, whom, what is proposed, and why. As the system now stands, the public is usually presented with a consensus candidate with a couple of biographical facts.

In spite of the knowledge that a proposal has passed through a long and entangled procedure, this system creates a lack of motivation among the public, which one disheveled young Belgrade journalist defined as follows: "I am supposed to elect a delegation which is supposed to elect a delegation which will elect a candidate whom 'they' have already chosen."

Our periodic political analyses do not identify such phenomena. The balance sheet is drawn up on a level above these everyday events on a statistical plane which lacks the wherewithal to record and analyze this kind of social dynamic. In such analyses, consequently, the "election results" are usually painted a prettier color.

In Belgrade, for example, from January 1980 to January 1982, 1,300 to 2,000 directors elected are completely new faces. Of those who left their positions, 780 remained in the same working organization and the remainder went on to new duties or retired. With reservations, this could be a signal that something is happening at the level of the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor].

We record numerous public speeches and even more newspaper interviews for purposes of personal information where the viewpoint prevails that there is no need for exaggerated involvement by either political forums or personnel commissions in the personnel policies of the OOURs. After all, this was the reason that the personnel commissions in the socio-political organizations received a new title. They are now called commissions for monitoring the social agreement on personnel policies. And this name change is supposed to mean a change also of behavior in practice--personnel checking on this level is supposed to be confined to the basic criteria of fitness.

#### Realistic Frameworks

Between the dissatisfaction resulting from personnel procedures over-controlled and closed for too long and the demands for ensuring political and moral reliability, between the need to conduct affairs publicly and the fear of

no-holds-barred politicking, uncertainty, and the unnecessary politicizing of public opinion on personnel questions, real possibilities for a redesigning of electoral procedures exist.

There is sufficient time to ponder everything calmly before the next elections.

Some of the electoral principles obviously have been checked ideologically but not in practice. The destiny of the idea of multiple candidates for each position is eloquent evidence in that sense.

"An Analysis of Some of the Questions Tied to Personnel Policies in Belgrade," from April 1980, shows that 1,734 out of 3,267 changes in "management personnel" (64 percent) involved competitions in which they were the sole participants. Most of the single-participant competitions occurred in the largest collectives (over 1,000 workers) and also in the smallest (up to 29 workers). Still, this is the area in which most progress have been made. Judging by this analysis, events in the medium-size working organizations should be analyzed in order to draw conclusions for that time when the principle of multiple candidates shall also be applied on a political level, which is so attractive to the general public.

Many are inclined to appraise this "higher personnel" level as having lost some of its attractiveness--because of the shortening of the term of office and restrictions on managerial functions. Still, the malcontents' prospects for viewing "the same faces on TV less often" are not so hopeless: Several Belgrade opstina presidents shifted to positions in the economy during this electoral round.

Belgrade and Sarajevo should also serve to show the utility of one other model. Emerik Blum, the well-known businessman, and Professor Bogdan Bogdanovic, the recognized architect, are testing what the reinvigorated policies will look like--with people who are not professional politicians. The success of this model in two large cities certainly should influence decisively the more massive application of this practice.

Thirdly, demands for the abolishment of all types of official privileges are coming from higher and higher political levels, and individual cases such as the Zemun example demonstrate that this stratum is increasingly less untouchable and increasingly more exposed to public penalties if it crosses the minimal boundaries of morality and humility.

Because of all these circumstances, and in the moment of crisis with which we are struggling, the personnel question remains an eminently political question, and ideas about the necessity of improvements deserve attention --precisely now in this period between the elections. Particularly if these considerations have as their goals the more efficacious reduction of the number of automatically rotated managers and the assignment of those persons having creative potential a public matter to a greater extent.

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